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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 November 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## HAPPY, PRODUCTIVE LIFE OF RETIREES EXTOLLED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Bardhyl Minxhozi: "Youth and Our Elderly"]

[Excerpt] Traditionally, our people have respected and honored the elderly, but in the years of socialism they have taken on a new content and have received the dimensions of respect and honor of the whole society. Article 46 of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania states: "Workers in the city and the countryside are assured of the necessary material means of life in old age, in the event of illness or in case of loss of ability to work." It is true that our elderly are not burdened with economic troubles and are not burdened with insecurity about the future. Although the number of pensioners has grown in 1983 3.7 times in comparison with 1970, expenditures on pensions have grown 5 times and have reached 7.5 percent of budget expenditures. At the same time, our system of social security favors, in a special manner, women and mothers with many children. Almost half the women receive full pensions at the age of 50. About 35 percent of all workers (that category of workers which has worked at the most difficult fronts) receive full pensions 5 to 10 years earlier than the normal pension age (which is 55 for women and 60 for men). At the same time, in many countries of the world, the pension ages are between 67 and 70.

But it is not only social security and other economic advantages that indicate the dimensions of respect and honor on the part of our society for the elderly. There exist a group of factors which prevent our elderly from being transformed into the forgotten people of society. This does not involve some sort of dry affirmative declaration, but a natural reality of our socialist society, where the shameful phenomenon of abandonment of the elderly by their families is unknown and where the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is directly interested in the good treatment of pensioners and even in their activization in state and public work. Various ways are utilized to keep pensioners active. According to the case, they are called to attend various meetings, they are members of councils of technical bureaus, committees or pedagogical councils, etc.

It is a fact that the majority of our elderly who are of pension age, and who have the possibility and capacity, make their valuable contribution and militate in the state organizations, assisting with all their strength in

efforts for the prosperity of our socialist life and for the patriotic education of our working masses, especially the younger generation. "Pensioners," says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "by serving the people and the party, do not become old, because even if they age physically, the party and the people have great need of their counsels and of the creative ideas that they have gained during their whole lives, full of selfless work."

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CSO: 2100/4

## SOUND BASES FOR MARRIAGES CONFIRMED BY SURVEY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Ylli Vejsiu: "Sound Bases for Marriage"]

[Excerpt] Marriage is one of the most important acts that a person performs in life. In our country, it is the lawful basis for the establishment of every family. For that reason, our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is interested in protecting sound marriages, those which are truly living cells of society that fulfill the mission which has been specified for them. This has also been sanctioned in the family code which, synthesizing an important constitutional principle, states: "Marriage and the family are under the care and protection of the state and society." Thus, the organs of state power and the social organizations have the task of assisting in the establishment of sound concepts about marriage as a basis for the establishment of the socialist family.

The statistical yearbooks in our country are in the habit of recording only the increase in the number of marriages. But the ever ascending level of their graphic representation is not only a result of the rates of population growth. (In 1980 there were 8.1 marriages per 1000 inhabitants, while in 1983 this level rose to a higher level: 9 marriages per 1000 inhabitants.) These statistics are undoubtedly an index of the general dynamism that characterizes the demographic development of socialist Albania and presages a still more vigorous development in the future. At the same time, however, it indicates the kind of social atmosphere in which our new family starts out and the economic footing on which it is built. All the newly married husbands have completed or are continuing school. Our socialist society has ensured that all husbands have work and they are not afraid that they will lose it tomorrow. The future is secure and their goals are clear. These are the direct results of the overall socio-economic development and the successful building of socialism during these 40 years without economic and social crises.

It is interesting and useful to ask people about various problems and to find out from their own confidential replies what there is that is universal and constitutes the social content of phenomena. Thus, if our people are asked to state their opinion about the most important condition for establishing a harmonious and stable family, we discover a very significant tendency: 94.5

percent of those surveyed stated that love, devotion and understanding are the three decisive conditions that determine the basis of the stability of our family. These three sentiments are connected traditionally with the life of the Albanian, but in our time they appear in a new light and with a new force: as primary requirements which must be observed at the foundation of the new family. All these aspects of our new social psychology that have been mentioned are the result of the noble education created by the party for our youth and of the force of proletarian morality, as well as of the unceasing increase in the wellbeing of the working masses and the socio-economic strength possessed by our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The establishment and development of the ownership by society of the means of production, the establishment and continual strengthening of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the unceasing development of the ideological revolution in all areas of life have created new concepts and bases for marriage among our people, different from the patriarchal and conservative ones of the past, as well as from the modernist bourgeois and revisionist ones. Thus, if you ask our people for their opinion about the characteristic that should be most valued in a future husband, you will naturally find a variety of particular responses which, at first sight, fall within purely subjective lines. But if you go deeper and collect the frequent ones, a fully objective and specific opinion emerges from the many particular instances and there is also a clear emergence of the colossal work of the party in the education and formation of the new man. A survey of about 1000 people belonging to various social groups, age groups and educational levels, reveals that public opinion considers political training as the characteristic which must receive more evaluation in a future husband. Next, it values, in turn, integrity, perseverance and pride in work, intelligence, sincerity, and the tendency to be connected with the achievement of family goals. These data indicate that the typical, general attitude among us is that the establishment of families should be on sound bases and for sound reasons in accordance with the norms of communist morality, which constitutes the important premise for their stability and normal development and their further consolidation.

During 1983, about 25,000 marriages took place, not a small number for the population of the republic, which stands at 2,700,000. There are "stories" connected with these 50,000 people of different characteristics and, moreover, every marriage conveys in itself something special, discernible, something intimate. Nevertheless, in their result, they yield specific social tendencies which are characteristic only of a truly socialist society. For example, how does a young man of today choose his partner for life if the social classes and groups in our society live in strong unity around the party? The statistics clearly reveal some ratios with important social significance: on the average, in recent years, one fourth of working class men have married cooperativist girls and almost a third of intellectual class men have married working class girls. Consequently, the new socio-economic reality is constantly leading young people more to the establishment of the new family, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized: "Rejecting the old customs of matchmaking, the old scorn of the city dweller for the villager, the petit-bourgeois scorn of the intellectual for the working man, the unhealthy nostalgia for the city and the petit-bourgeois view of it.

LIST OF MAJOR EVENTS SINCE 9 SEPTEMBER 1944

Sofia NARODNI SUVETI in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 p 7

[Historical calendar]

[Text] 9 September 1944. Bulgaria is administratively divided into nine oblasts: Burgas, Vratsa, Gorna Dzhumaya, Pleven, Plovdiv, Ruse, Sofia, Stara Zagora and Shumen, divided into okoliyas and obshtinas.

2 November 1944. The first Fatherland Front government adopts a directive-law according to which, until new laws can be drafted and new elections for local administrative organs held, the old administrative system is retained. Mayors, deputy mayors, okoliya managers, and others are appointed on the basis of their nomination by the local Fatherland Front committees.

15 November 1945. First elections for the 26th Ordinary National Assembly.

8 September 1946. Referendum is held for a Bulgarian people's republic. A total of 92.76 percent of all voters vote in favor of a Bulgarian people's republic.

15 September 1946. The 26th Ordinary National Assembly proclaims Bulgaria a people's republic.

27 October 1946. Elections for the Great National Assembly. The Fatherland Front gains a brilliant electoral victory--78.8 percent of the vote and 366 seats in the Great National Assembly.

4 December 1947. The Great National Assembly adopts the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic (the Dimitrov Constitution). The new Constitution abolishes oblasts but retains okoliyas and obshtinas.

27 February 1948. First law on people's councils adopted by the National Assembly.

1 March 1948. Ukase of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly appoints temporary obshtina and okoliya managements with full rights of people's councils.

15 May 1949. First elections for people's councils. A total of 95 okoliyas, 104 city and 2,034 village people's councils are elected with a total of 35,877 people's councilmen.

24 September 1949. National Assembly Presidium ukase creates 15 okrugs: Blagoevgrad, Burgas, Varna, Vidin, Vratsa, Kolarovgrad, Pleven, Plovdiv, Ruse, Sofia-City, Sofia, Stara Zagora, Turnovo, Khaskovo and Yambol. Okolijas and obshtinas remain.

18 December 1949. Elections for people's representatives and okrug people's councils.

29 December 1950. National Assembly Presidium ukase abolishes Vidin and Yambol okrugs. The number of okrugs is reduced to 13.

14 December 1952. Elections for okrug, okoliya, city, rayon and village people's councils. A total of 59,648 people's councilmen elected.

12 February 1956. Elections for okrug, okoliya, city, rayon and village people's councils. A total of 58,870 people's councilmen elected.

23 January 1959. National Assembly Presidium ukase on a new administrative division of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the creation of the temporary okrug executive committees. By this ukase existing okrugs and okolijas are abolished and replaced by the following okrugs: Blagoevgrad, Burgas, Varna, Vratsa, Vidin, Gabrovo, Dimitrovo (Bernik), Kolarovgrad (Shumen), Kurdzhali, Kyustendil, Lovech, Mikhaylovgrad, Plovdiv, Pazardzhik, Pleven, Razgrad, Ruse, Silistra, Sliven, Smolyan, Sofia, Stara Zagora, Tulbukhin, Turgovishte, Khaskovo and Yambol.

The obshtinas in Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna were set up as separate administrative units under the jurisdiction of the central organs of the state system and administration.

5 April 1959. Elections for okrug, obshtina and rayon people's councils. A total of 42,546 people's councilmen elected.

25 February 1962. Elections for okrug, obshtina and rayon people's councils. A total of 49,824 people's councilmen elected.

27 February 1966. Elections for okrug, city, rayon and village people's councils. A total of 51,275 people's councilmen elected.

16 May 1971. Referendum on the adoption of a new constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

18 May 1971. The Fifth National Assembly proclaims the adoption of a new constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

27 June 1971. Elections for the National Assembly and okrug, obshtina and rayon people's councils. A total of 53,665 people's councilmen elected.

13 January 1974. Elections for okrug, obshtina and rayon people's councils. A total of 52,450 people's councilmen elected.



30 May 1976. Elections for the National Assembly and okrug, obshtina and rayon people's councils. A total of 55,414 people's councilmen elected.

25 March 1979. Elections for okrug, obshtina and rayon people's councils, mayoralties and people's councilmen for mayoralties following the new territorial-settlement structure, the establishment of conurbation systems and the new type obshtinas. A total of 53,210 people's councilmen are elected to the people's councils and mayoralties and 3,977 mayors.

7 June 1981. Elections for the National Assembly and people's councilmen, mayors and people's councilmen in mayoralties. A total of 53,726 people's councilmen are elected to people's councils and mayoralties and 3,960 mayors.

4 December 1983. Elections for okrug, obshtina and rayon people's councils, for mayors and people's councilmen in mayoralties. A total of 54,481 people's councilmen are elected to people's councils and mayoralties and 3,948 mayors.

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CSO: 2200/18

BULGARIA

LEADERS' APPEARANCES FROM 28 OCT TO 3 NOV

AU032048 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgaria in its broadcasts from 28 October to 3 November, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date noted in parentheses):

Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a Soviet literature celebration in Vidin (1830 GMT 29 October). Mikaylov is also reported to have attended a journalistic symposium in Sofia (1000 GMT 30 October).

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, visited projects in Pernik Okrug (2030 GMT 29 October ).

Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended a journalistic symposium in Sofia (1000 GMT 30 October). Yotov is reported to have also attended a conference on the tasks of journalists in Sofia (1830 GMT 31 October), the opening of an exhibition in Sofia (1830 GMT 31 October), and a celebration devoted to the day of journalists in Sofia (1830 1 November).

Georgi Atanasov, Politburo candidate member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a Sofia celebration on the anniversary of the Scientific Workers Union (0900 GMT 30 October).

Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, attended a meeting organized for young soldiers' mothers in Sofia (1830 GMT 30 October).

Ognyan Doynov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee and minister of machine building and electronics, met a group of Soviet specialists in Sofia (2030 GMT 31 October).

Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of energy and raw material resources, attended a meeting at an Osogovo construction site (1830 GMT 1 November). Bozhinov is also reported to have attended a plenum of the Okrug Party Committee in Silistra (1400 GMT 2 November).

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, attended a reception in Sofia given by the Algerian ambassador on the national holiday of his country (2030 GMT 1 November).

CSO: 2200/37

## BULGARIA

### WEEKLY ON ANTONOV INQUIRY 'VIOLATIONS'

AU081508 Sofia BTA in English 1334 GMT 8 Nov 84

[The Benefit of the Doubt--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 8 Nov (BTA)--In an extensive article carried in the latest issue of the ANTENI weekly, Mr Vulko Vulkanov, master of law, dwells on the most substantial violations of international legal norms committed in the course of the preliminary inquiry against Sergey Antonov charged with complicity in the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II.

In the first place, the presumption of innocence has been disregarded, although it is enshrined in the Italian constitution: "The accused shall be considered 'not guilty' until ultimately convicted" (Article 27, para 2). In accordance with the said presumption, as a rule the accused retains all his statutory rights, including the right to freedom. In the exclusive cases when preliminary detention is possible, he must be held in a regime congruous to his status of a not guilty person. This is explicitly demanded in the international covenant of civil and political rights.

The same document provides for the speediest legal proceedings. It is obvious that as far as he is considered "not guilty" the accused should not be subjected to an indefinitely long detention. "Italian legislation", the Bulgarian lawyer writes, "as we have been able to see, is far from any 'reasonable' terms." It admits the preliminary inquiry to last as long as six years. It is true that so far Antonov's preliminary detention has lasted for just two years. But has it been concluded? "According to reports in the mass media", the author goes on to say, "the judges who will try the three Bulgarian [as published] will have to release their pronouncement on the adequacy of the investigation not immediately but within a year and a half". The practice so far excites apprehensions that Antonov's preliminary detention will be extended by another year and a half. But this will hardly be the end. The court might order a reopening of the investigation for further inquiries.

"It is obvious that this time will be used not to seek the truth (as truth will be confronting the Italian authorities in all that time), but rather to exhaust the physical and psychological endurance of Antonov", is Mr Vulkanov's conclusion on his point.

In the second place, he draws attention to the fact that Antonov and the other Bulgarians have been indicted in breach of another principle, viz., that no one can be indicted or therefore convicted if there is the slightest doubt about his guilt. Is it possible that Martella has looked upon the guilt of the three Bulgarians as incontestably proven? One would be incapable of any sound reasoning if one were to claim that the charges are anything but dubious.

The grave charges against Antonov, Ayvazov, and Vassilev (wherein the implication is that the Bulgarian state and the socialist commonwealth are behind them) undoubtedly requires just as "weighty" proofs to back them, and the Italian investigators have found the proofs they needed in Agca's testimony.

Further on the author points out that the conditions in which Agca has altered his testimonies have not been brought into question, either. He recalls that Martella knows very well that the assassin has changed his position after he was visited in prison by representatives of the Italian special services. "It is obvious, therefore, that the altered position of Agca is the exclusive result of a bargain", the Bulgarian lawyer emphasizes.

He expresses his surprise as to how the Italian authorities could have taken a serious view of Agca's fabrications about the way the plot has been organized. Particularly strange is the fact that after the shooting, the Bulgarians "involved" in it have carelessly remained in Rome despite the imminent danger: for their "accomplice" Agca was already under arrest. Is there any secret service which, under the circumstances, would not take care to cover up its tracks, the author asks adding that the Italian investigators have remained unperturbed at the abundant contradictions in Agca's testimonies, at his blatant lies. They have likewise disregarded the numerous proofs which did not only call into question Agca's allegations, but disproved them altogether.

In the opinion of Mr Vulkanov, indirect evidence of the Bulgarians' innocence can be also sought in the position taken up by Martella: According to reports of the ANSA news agency, the investigation magistrate is not at all positively convinced of the guilt of the three Bulgarians. In his indictment he has just contented himself to point out that there was circumstantial evidence (he even spoke of "elements") sufficient to bring the three Bulgarians to trial, and it would be up to the court to decide whether they are guilty or not. If there were the slightest conviction on his part that the Bulgarians are guilty, Martella would have hardly resorted to this all too ambiguous formulation.

In conclusion, the Bulgarian lawyer touches on the general conditions in which the preliminary inquiry against the three Bulgarians has been conducted. He emphasizes that in the conditions of the massive anti-Bulgarian campaign which has affected even the Italian parliament, no judge could shape his conviction freely. He will be heavily encumbered with the political decision, hastily made by certain quarters (obviously not without influence on the personal fate of the judges and investigators, among other things) that evidence or no evidence, the trail against the Bulgarians will be held.

The preliminary inquiry has also been marred through the unconcealed adjustment of the truth to the lie. All rules have been broken which should have guaranteed the impartial gathering of objectively deposited proofs. In some mysterious way, the secrecies of investigation have turned into "public" secrets. In due time, a panel of "controllers" has taken care to steer Agca's testimony in the desirable course. All these acts, concluded Mr Vulkanov, bear the unmistakable marks of offenses against public justice.

Noting that, evidently, nobody's impartiality can be counted upon, and that Sergey Antonov is in a distressing situation, as his honour, health, freedom, and life are endangered, Mr Vulkanov stresses the need to set up a public committee for Antonov's defense which should coordinate the joint efforts so that truth may prevail.

CSO: 2200/39

ANTONOV ATTORNEY, OTHERS CITED ON UPCOMING TRIAL

AU081210 Sofia BTA in English 1128 GMT 8 Nov 84

["The Truth or the Provocation?"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 8 Nov (BTA)--"Dr Albano, who pleads for the prosecution in the trial against Antonov and the other two Bulgarians, does not want to hear about witnesses in their defense. To speak of such witnesses in his position, would have meant to back the defense. And this would have had an undermining effect on both Dr Albano and the prosecution. But witnesses to defend the Bulgarians do exist. Both Italian and Bulgarian--and these witnesses will be heard in court and I believe that there the truth will come to the surface at last." This is a statement made by Sergey Antonov's legal defense, Prof Guiseepe Consolo. It was made in a conversation with journalist Krasimir Drumev during the congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in Athens.

In a commentary in the LITERATURE FRONT weekly, Drumev quotes another opinion as well--that of Prosecutor Albano, who, explaining the task of the judges in the future trial, over the "Free Europe" radio station, has said: "Trials are held with human beings and human beings do make mistakes and sometimes do go astray from their duties by sticking to presented evidence alone". Naturally, Albano has in mind the evidence in favor of the Bulgarians. From this the author of the commentary concludes that a trial is in preparation and what is more a trial in which "not the truth but the provocation must prevail". He recalls that the public opinion manipulation has started with the arrest of Antonov and continues with unabating force since, no responsibility being sought from those who are manipulating it. [sentence as received]

In Athens the journalist has had talks with more prominent lawyers. Luigi Cavallieri, president of the Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Italy, has said that in the Antonov case the "presumption of innocence of the persons accused of committing a crime, until otherwise proven" has been neglected. Mr Cavallieri has speculated that the change in the testimony of Agca was a result of manipulation.

Prof Vladimir Kudryavtsev, director of the Institute of the State and Law with the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, is also quoted in the

commentary as saying: "Circumstantial evidence--and not only in this particular case--may be of juridical significance under certain conditions alone. The main of these being that it should represent a consistent chain of evidence which closes in a way that excludes any other explanation of a given event. As far as the Antonov case is concerned, there is nothing in it to meet these requirements."

CSO: 2200/39

BULGARIAN ARMY DAILY ON CPSU, RED ARMY

AU081542 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 6 Nov 84 p 2

[Lieutenant Colonel Damyan Atanasov article: "The CPSU Leadership--Main Source of the Soviet Army's Power and Invincibility"]

[Text] In the flames of the Great October Socialist Revolution and under the direct leadership of the glorious Bolshevik Party, headed by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, its brilliant leader, the legendary and invincible Red Army was born. This army won world historical victories in gigantic battles against the forces of imperialism and reaction, and with its humanitarianism and its infinite devotion to the cause of communism it earned the affection and loyalty of all progressive mankind. The Soviet Armed Forces today are still the most reliable shield protecting socialism, peace, and social progress throughout the world.

The strength and invincible power of the Soviet Army are based on the most just socioeconomic system, on its indestructible links with the people and on the leadership of the CPSU. The history of the first and most powerful socialist state proves that the CPSU's leadership of military organization as a whole and of the armed forces is an objective, law-governed rule.

The following circumstances have determined this fact: In the first place, the CPSU is the leading party. The Constitution of the USSR reads as follows: "The CPSU is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, of its state and social organs...." Insofar as the Soviet Armed Forces are a constituent part of the socialist state, their leadership by the CPSU is one of the aspects of its organizing and leading role in Soviet society. Party leadership of the army is inseparable from the leadership of the CPSU in all other processes of the country's sociopolitical, economic, and cultural development.

The second factor in this respect, is the fact that Soviet military construction is being implemented entirely in the spirit of the social organization of a new society in the USSR. Military construction, its character and goals are in full accordance with the interests of all working people, since the Soviet Armed Forces are called upon reliably to protect the inviolability of the socialist motherland and to ensure peaceful conditions for the implementation of the majestic program of communist construction. Practical experience shows that party leadership is ensuring the most efficient implementation of the tasks facing the army.



Another basic condition which determines the objective and legitimate character of party leadership in military construction and in the armed forces is the fact that only the Communist Party is capable of implementing a true, correct, and scientific type of leadership. This is guaranteed by the Marxist-Leninist theory, and in particular, by the theory of war and the army, by the theory about the defense of the socialist motherland, as well as by the profound knowledge and skilled use of the objective laws and rules of development of society and of the armed struggle, of which only the party is capable.

It is not accidental that the CPSU program reads as follows, among other things: "The very basis of military organization is the leadership of the armed forces by the Communist Party, the increase of the role and influence of party organizations in the army and navy."

Throughout the entire 67-year old history of the Soviet State, the CPSU has been the organizer and leader of the selfless struggle and consolidating the Soviet Armed Forces. In the difficult years of the civil war and of the Great Fatherland War the party was a militant party in the true sense of the word. Under extremely hard conditions, the CPSU succeeded in mobilizing the Soviet people for a sacred struggle against the numerous invaders who were armed to the teeth and, regardless of temporary failures at the beginning of these fateful battles, the CPSU was able to ensure a drastic change in the course of war and to achieve victories of decisive importance for the future of mankind. The party accomplished a gigantic achievement in restoring and promptly increasing as well as reorganizing the national economy on a military basis. Through their personal example, heroism, and manly courage, the communists invigorated the combat spirit of the masses and led them forward to great deeds, they inspired everyone with firm confidence in the final victory over the enemy. The years of war irrevocably confirmed the leading role of the CPSU as the main leader of the Soviet Armed Forces, as a basic factor in their constantly growing power, and in their invincible strength.

Party leadership in the Soviet Army and Navy is also manifested in the fact that all questions connected with the defense of the socialist motherland, with military organizations, and with military theory and practice are being solved in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory and the CPSU policy, in conformity with the CPSU decisions and instructions. The theoretical postulates and political stands, on the basis of which military organization is being implemented, are contained in the CPSU program; they were set forth in Congress decisions, and in other party documents.

The leading role of the CPSU in military affairs is also manifesting itself in the working out and implementation of a scientifically based military policy. Basing itself on the Marxist-Leninist theory, the party and its Central Committee are mapping out the basic principles in the activities of state and social organizations as regards the ensurance of a reliable defense for the USSR. Being indissolubly linked to the foreign and domestic policy of the CPSU and of the Soviet state, military policy is specified in the Soviet military doctrine, in military strategy and in practical work connected with military construction.

Party leadership of the CPSU in military affairs and in the armed forces is being implemented through the many-sided, purpose-oriented, and persevering work of the CPSU Central Committee and of its Politburo. Under their constant and unrelenting care and attention, all basic problems of consolidating the combat strength of the army, of increasing its fighting capacity and combat readiness, of ensuring a reliable defense of socialism and peace are being resolved. These activities are in full conformity with the objective processes and phenomena in the development of military affairs, of technical equipment, of training, and education of the army. The leading role of the CPSU in the armed forces is being implemented through the purpose-oriented, party-political work of the military councils, political organs, party, and Komsomol organizations.

The leading role of the CPSU in military organization is constantly increasing. This is determined, above all, by the vital importance of ensuring a reliable defense of socialism and peace. Through the fault of American imperialism and its allies the international situation has rapidly and alarmingly deteriorated in recent years. Their striving to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries and to restore their opportunity to decide upon the fate of individual nations and of all mankind from a "position of strength", as well as to destroy socialism in theory and practice represents the greatest, most serious danger for peace and for the future of our planet since the end of World War II.

This demands that the CPSU, as well as its Central Committee, constantly and comprehensively analyze the military-political situation in the world and in individual areas, and evaluate in a timely and accurately manner the military preparations of the North Atlantic Treaty member-countries, and adopt all necessary measures to preserve the military-strategic balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member-countries, which was achieved at the cost of tremendous efforts. It is no secret to anyone that the Soviet Union and the USSR Armed Forces are the chief mainstay of socialism, peace, and social progress, and invincible strength.

The enhancement of the leading role of the CPSU is also determined by the expansion of the foreign political functions and international tasks of the USSR Armed Forces. The socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, and their joint military power are restraining the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction, they do not permit the export of counterrevolution, and are decisively supporting the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation, for the defense of their revolutionary achievements.

The increase of the leading role played by the CPSU in military affairs is not based on coincidence and is not developing in a spontaneous manner; it is proceeding as a result of purposeful efforts of the party and of all its organs, as well as of the members of the armed forces, as a result of the party's persevering, political and organizational work.

The Soviet Armed Forces owe all their great victories, their indstructible strength, above all, to the wise leadership of the Leninist CPSU, to its

constant care in increasing fighting readiness and in consolidating the armed forces' combat strength. The leading role of the CPSU is the basic and decisive source of the power and invincibility of the Soviet Army.

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MILITARY PANEL DISCUSSES REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT, ACTION

Sofia ARMEYSKI KOMUNIST in Bulgarian No 10, 1984 pp 34-62

[Panel discussion: "For Innovative Thinking and Revolutionary Action"]

[Text] A round-table discussion was held at the editorial premises of the periodical ARMEYSKI KOMUNIST on 4 September 1984. The topic was "The Party's Requirement of Innovative Thinking and Revolutionary Action." The following participated in the discussion: Colonel Professor Gancho Bonin; Major General Docent Ivan Stefanov, candidate of philosophical sciences; Lieutenant General Tsan'o Bakalov; Lieutenant General Docent Yako Molkhov, candidate of military sciences; Lieutenant General Stefan Kovachev, candidate of military sciences; Lieutenant General Lyubcho Toshkov; Major General Stoycho Stoychev, candidate of military sciences; Major General Ivan Parmakov; and the periodical's editors.

The discussion was chaired by Colonel Simeon Bizhev, the periodical's editor-in-chief.

Following are some of the participants' statements.

Colonel Simeon Bizhev: Relevance of the Problem Under Discussion

As a social system, socialism is a society of working people, social equality, full economic and political emancipation of man, real freedom and democracy and true collectivism. These features are based on the public ownership of productive capital and the consequent social relations and actions. It is such advantages over capitalism that are making it increasingly more attractive to millions of people.

The 12th BCP Congress noted that our state has reached new horizons in all fields of life in the course of its progress in building mature socialism. At the same time, it has encountered new processes and phenomena. The need to enhance the level of maturity of the production base, social relations and spiritual life was vividly manifested. These are problems of major theoretical and practical significance. Their resolution is related to the work and communist responsibility to future generations, to the future, by the subjective factor. We take as an example of the approach to them the extensive

work being done by the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo and, personally, Comrade Todor Zhivkov in combining theory with the pulsebeat and needs of life, present and future.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov drew attention to this crucial aspect in the development of social practice at the meeting between the BCP Central Committee Secretariat and Politburo with the aktiv of the scientific and technical associations and the union of scientific workers, which was held on 24 April 1984. He emphasized in his speech that in order to resolve new problems today we need revolutionary thinking and new approaches and actions in all realms of life. This means to see, take into consideration and create conditions for resolving arising contradictions and problems, identifying new development conditions and trends, formulating specific objectives and tasks and making a firm break with obsolete concepts and stereotypes, freedom from dogmas and prejudice, surmounting inertia in thoughts and actions and finding suitable organizational methods for the implementation of the new tasks.

No new action is possible without a new way of thinking. This stipulation formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, this party policy and this approach and style of thinking and working, steadily developed and enriched, tested and refined in the crucible of the life of millions of working people, guided by the party, withstood the test of time in our most recent history. As a result of this test they have become a way of life of the entire social organism and a way of thinking and practical activities of the subjective factor in shaping an overall view of basic problems and practical approaches leading to the further development of a mature socialist society. The implementation of this party-initiated program is taking place under the conditions of the new stage in the further elaboration and implementation of the April general line, a stage which began with the 12th Party Congress. It is this and the need for systematic work for the full implementation of the resolutions of the National Party Conference which determine the great topical significance of the problem of revolutionary thinking and action which we shall discuss today.

Colonel Professor Gancho Bonin: Some Considerations on Revolutionary Thought and Action

The twin purpose of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the communist movement is not only to explain but to transform the world. The two aspects of this objective are inseparably interlinked. If the world is to be changed it must be known, i.e., it must be properly interpreted. In turn, this can be achieved only in the course of its revolutionary transformation. Ideas by themselves could not move even a particle of dust. However, they become a material force when they find a subject which can materialize. On the other hand, the transforming role of the subjective factor depends to a tremendous extent on the ideas, the revolutionary theory with which it is equipped.

The world is in a state of constant motion and change. However, not all changes are revolutionary. The right to be considered such is granted to the type of progressive social change which is not limited to corrections, repairs, amendments or embellishments but is profound, essential and broad,

which destroys the old ideas, dogmas, concepts, standards, methods, ways and means and discovers essentially new approaches and solutions, possibilities and prospects, materializing itself into previously unsuspected and qualitatively new results and consequences. Revolutionary thinking is a challenge to routine, conservatism, cliches and old ruts. That is precisely why it presumes new and original features but also, mandatorily, revolutionary daring and will to surmount difficulties, obstacles, inertia, etc.

All of these are not hifalutin words but the truth of real life. Without this the historical mission of the working class itself, of the communist movement and socialism could not be achieved and the revolutionary reorganization of the world would be impossible.

Revolutionary thinking and action are manifested not only in the broadest possible historical changes but also in more specific stages, tasks and problems of socialist reorganization and development. Such, it seems to me, is also the meaning of the current party call for revolutionary thought and action.

I shall try to indicate some more specific features of revolutionary thought and action.

First. There is no revolutionary thinking unless converted into revolutionary action. In the opposite case it degenerates into revolutionary phraseology. There can be no revolutionary action unless it is guided by revolutionary ideas and thoughts. In the opposite case it would be uncontrolled, blind, chaotic and purposeless.

Absolutely nothing can be changed without action. Beautiful words and phrases, however revolutionary they may sound, remain nothing but verbal noises. It is particularly important to note this, bearing in mind the willingness with which some people substitute good words for good deeds. Furthermore, it is no secret that this has turned into a habit for some people. Occasionally they appear quite daring but in words only, whereas actually they remain most ordinary followers of routine and conservatives. They have even changed the function of words, which are used not for the sake of expressing but for concealing their true thoughts. They may report to you numerous actions (conferences, meetings, discussions, reports and information, plans, resolutions, etc.) but no real progress toward something better or any real change of status. They do something to be able to "account for themselves," in order not to be accused of doing nothing. They are not subjects (or a subjective factor) of revolutionary change and transformation but a hindrance which blocks the path of such processes. They do not act but simulate action. They do not work but give the impression of working.

Second. Revolutionary thought and action is possible when it exceeds the narrow horizon of immediate personal interests and careers. If every single word and step begins to be sifted through self-seeking calculated in terms of personal benefits, risks and safety, no revolutionism is possible in thought and action. In such cases matters turn into their opposite, instead of my serving the cause the cause should serve me. From this viewpoint real consequences and results are no longer of any interest but what is is what I can

achieve. The rest is merely a seemingly cover, a calling card. My actual achievements are not important, what matters is the impression that I create of having achieved something. Under such conditions, wonderful appeals and slogans for decisive turns and reorganizations and wonderful initiatives and undertakings clash and break against the wall of misanthropy and personal considerations. Such people know that "these too shall pass," and that the important thing is to survive, to wait out, and to tame the next wave of pressure against indifference.

Third. As was already pointed out, revolutionary thought and action is profound and broad. However, it can be such only if it is a mass, a people's affair. Otherwise it cannot acquire a real scale and real depth. The Marxist-Leninist classics frequently pointed out that the depth and scope of change are proportional to the participation of the masses in reorganization. They described this as a general sociological law of social development, according to which a historical objective presumes historical and mass energy, etc.

In this light there can be no revolutionary thought and action wherever an individual can imagine that he alone can replace everyone else, qualifying the rest of the people, openly or secretly, as a "grey mass" which deserves nothing but scorn, when the manager constantly feels and fears that without him others can only spoil the work, that he alone thinks about it whereas all others try to avoid it. A manager who cannot walk in step with the people entrusted to him thinks and acts as in the past. The ability of revolutionary thought and action is equivalent to that of changing the thoughts and actions of collectives and masses which can be mobilized, tuned, restructured, organized and turned into active subjects of revolutionary thought and action.

Fourth. Under contemporary conditions, as noted in the party's documents, revolutionary thought and action is possible only if based on the achievements of science and technology, on the accomplishments of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. Socialism and the scientific and technical revolution should be considered as interpenetrating and reciprocally manifested phenomena. This means that science and a scientific approach are not only fashionable words used to embellish speeches but a reality and a practice, stubborn practical work for their mastery and application. This precisely is incompatible with actions in which we speak of science and scientific approach while acting unscientifically; speaking of intensification but following the old extensive paths; demanding initiative and creativity without being able to withstand initiative and variety shown by someone else; appealing for creativity but considering efforts to think and work creatively and originally as a challenge to one's own personality; any discordant voice irritates the ear and spoils the mood.

Fifth. In recent years a great deal has been said about discipline as a primary factor in the implementation of tasks in building a developed socialist society. What is the relationship between discipline and the topic discussed here? In my view, we can clearly say that revolutionary thought and action also mean revolutionary discipline, revolutionary, precisely! In

other words, the type of discipline which does not limit thoughts, actions, initiative and an innovative approach but is entirely compatible with them. It seems to me that we occasionally forget the simple truth that discipline means good and excellent work rather than something separate and independent of it. When discipline is separated from work and becomes something independent, it becomes self-seeking and, under certain circumstances, hinders rather than contributes to the work.

In this presentation I deliberately emphasized mainly phenomena and activities incompatible with the requirements of revolutionary thinking and innovative and revolutionary action. Such phenomena, although specific and limited, exist in the army as well, in the daily work and struggle for enhancing the level of training and upbringing and the combat readiness of the troops.

I do not believe that the problems I have raised are the most important or that they cover all possible aspects of the topic under discussion. I think that the presentations about to be made will expand and concretize it.

Major General Docent Ivan Stefanov: The Contribution of Political Work

In his rich post-congress work Comrade T. Zhivkov has repeatedly emphasized the need for today's socialist worker to have revolutionary thoughts which lead to new bold solutions and encourage tireless efforts to achieve high successes in building and defending mature socialism in our country. "We need today a revolutionary turn in the thinking and approach to the tasks of our development...for anything which we will undertake and resolve over the next 20 years as well as through 1990 and the year 2000 depends on the readiness and ability of the subjective factor to be restructured in thinking and acting as required by the criteria of both the present and the future."

Over the past 40 years our country has made a leap in its socialist development. In this respect the party's role is historical and decisive. With its innovative and transforming activities, it creatively enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The April period in the development of the party and the country is characterized by the broad creative resolution of ripe problems. The BCP Central Committee and Comrade T. Zhivkov set examples of revolutionary creativity and political discovery by elaborating the basic theoretical stipulations and practical approaches to building mature socialism in our country.

The resolutions of the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference demand of all of us a radical change in our way of thinking and approach. This party requirement imbues the content of party political work in the Bulgarian People's Army. The purpose is to develop in the troops the type of awareness and behavior which will enable them to resolve the major strategic problem of raising the combat readiness of the troops to a qualitatively new level.

First of all, political work must steadily develop the cognitive interest of the troops in terms of Marxist-Leninist theory, the innovative creativity of our party and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and to develop a Marxist-Leninist



outlook and an active life stance. This is the first and most important prerequisite in shaping a revolutionary way of thinking and a new approach in the activities of military cadres.

Through systematic and purposeful political activities commanders, political organs and party, trade union and Komsomol organizations inform all military servicemen of the policy and decisions of the party and the speeches, statements and reports submitted by Comrade T. Zhivkov, which represent Marxism-Leninism in action, and which help them in the study, interpretation and drawing practical conclusions in their activities. The purpose is for these resolutions to become the actual convictions, motivations and manuals for action in resolving the main problem: upgrading combat readiness in accordance with contemporary party requirements and the complex international situation. Furthermore, it is particularly important for political work to help military cadres to master the party's creative approach in resolving the right to problems of our development and to formulate their own creative and innovative approach to problems of army development.

After the National Party Conference our party raised quite urgently the question of achieving a fast change and the need to work innovatively and creatively. In some units, however, the military collectives are content to take halfway measures and achieve mediocre results. Instead of trying to mobilize the troops for concrete and practical work in upgrading combat readiness, political activities are limited mainly to agitation and propaganda, explanation and persuasion, formulation of plans and measures and holding assemblies, meetings and conferences.

All of this indicates that some commanders and political workers and party, trade union and Komsomol managements remain the slaves of the old approach of partial change. They try to resolve the major problems through educational activities. That is why they are unable to achieve lasting and high results and fully meet the party requirements of high quality everywhere and in everything.

In order to obey the party order of achieving a decisive turn in the thinking and actions of military cadres and strict responsibility, political work must be focused above all on enhancing the role of the personal example set by all commanders and chiefs in mastering and practically executing party decisions.

The main thing in this respect is for the one-man commander to become a true political leader, to be first everywhere and in everything. He must set the example of mastering, interpreting and creatively implementing the party's decisions. He must display revolutionary thinking and action and resolve the problems of his unit with revolutionary scope.

Military cadres must systematically and persistently apply a political approach in their activities. In practical terms this means to be guided by the party's decisions, to assess the contemporary military-political situation on the basis of class-party positions, to assess accurately the ratio of forces in the world and to earmark and carry out expedient measures for the qualitative implementation of tasks related to combat and political training

and strengthening the discipline and the military collective. They must set the example with their ability properly to be oriented in the circumstances, to explain all tasks, to assess accurately conditions, forces and means and make bold innovative decisions.

The elaboration of good plans and measures by the subjective factor and making proper decisions are not in themselves a feature of revolutionary thinking and, particularly, revolutionary action. They are merely a prerequisite, a proper direction and unless combined with specific organization and practical execution, they merely remain a wish, a wish on paper at that. This leads to a gap between excellent decisions and practical results and between words and actions. This is due to the fact that in political work the role and features of the character, organizational and practical actions and organizational abilities and cadre efficiency have been underestimated. It is a question of influencing the mastery and practical application of the Leninist workstyle and management by all commanders and the need for a creative scope in decision-making, firm will and persistence in carrying out resolutions. The responsible and permanent task of political work is to contribute to decisive improvements in the organization of individual labor and individual regimen of the officer and high self-discipline and self-control and shaping the ability to subordinate the person's thinking and actions to the implementation of the main task, which is to maintain the constant high combat readiness of the troops.

It is also needed for political work itself steadily to display creativity and innovativeness. Unless routine and formalism, an educational approach and ostentatiousness are eliminated in political work, which are still found in some units, it cannot really contribute to developing in military cadres revolutionary and innovative thinking and action.

Political work is efficient when it helps the officer to display a creative attitude in the study of party stipulations and the tasks which proceed from them in terms of the troops and accurately to define the objectives and ways and means for their resolution. This is achieved when party requirements become requirements of the consciousness and behavior of the troops and when the party's stipulations turn into their thoughts and actions. However, these new objectives and tasks cannot be resolved without a new vision, a new understanding and new ways and means of political work, which must always be in step with new developments and the new problems formulated by the party today, at the stage of building mature socialism.

It is a question of the commander's ability to engage in individual political work with the men and of his own self-education and upbringing and finding and applying specific methods for triggering and shaping a constant cognitive interest among his subordinates in party policies and decisions. It is a question of developing a taste for political work and a high feeling of responsibility and personal participation in it.

Ideological education, which greatly influences the shaping of innovative thinking and revolutionary action in military cadres, plays an important role in the overall system of political work. This influence will be the stronger

the higher the quality of ideological measures becomes. It depends on the ability of commanders and political workers and party and Komsomol management to take into consideration the increased requirements and interests of the subjects of education and the changes which occur within them and to provide specific developments of general stipulations, consistent with the level on which they operate and to relate them closely to the tasks and life of the troops.

The requirement of revolutionary thinking and action and enhancing the quality of political work presumes the consistent application of the comprehensive approach: political organs and party and Komsomol management must synchronize the activities of all units within the subjective factor. They must concretize and differentiate their political activities in accordance with the characteristics of the individual categories of military personnel, the level of their consciousness and the problems and tasks which arise in army life and military collectives. The comprehensive approach ensures the profound penetration into the ideological-political and moral and mental condition of the military collective and the individual servicemen.

The revolutionary thinking and acting by military cadres is inconceivable without developing within them the ability promptly to identify and resolve dialectical contradictions in troop training and upbringing. Dialectics is the revolutionary soul of Marxism. It is also the methodological foundation of the Leninist revolutionary style of work and management.

The political work done by the party organizations in the Bulgarian People's Army plays an important role in shaping the revolutionary thinking and the new approach. The party organization, RABOTNICHESKO DELO emphasized in its 18 July 1984 issue, is the center of ideological influence on the military collective. Its invariable obligation is to struggle against the old and against satisfaction with mediocre results in combat and political training. The party organization must voice its firm "no!" to acceptance of low indicators, something which contradicts the requirements of the National Party Conference for high quality and a new approach and strict responsibility. It must struggle on a daily basis for high activeness and for the personal example which every party member must set. It must apply all available forces and means for shaping in its members a revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action in the struggle for high combat readiness.

It is necessary, above all, to improve and systematically to apply a political approach in the work of the party organizations. Party work is closely related to the life and tasks of the country and army and the topical problems which the party is resolving at the present stage. It is not some kind of abstract theoretical activity but practical work which equips military cadres with Marxist-Leninist methodology in resolving all problems. But its ability to be in the center of events and to raise for discussion the most important problems promptly, principle-mindedly and in the April spirit, the party organization sets the example and encourages the activities of all party members, mobilizing them for the practical implementation of adopted programs and resolutions. The party organization will resolve such problems more successfully the more completely it becomes the support of the party

members who display revolutionary thinking and an innovative spirit in resolving problems, systematically popularizing and applying leading experience in achieving high successes in combat and political training and enhancing the combat readiness of the troops. The party organization will set the example of revolutionary thinking and action by helping the party members who find it difficult to abandon old ways and who talk rather than implement party decisions, by holding strictly liable those who are unwilling to reorganize themselves or else only speak of reorganization. The party members must firmly oppose the element of inertia, the old habits and views and indicate the place of every soldier and, particularly, every leader in this decisive upturn. Greater concern must be devoted to develop creativity and innovation in party work. A decisive struggle must be waged against what is old and conservative, routine and formalism and negative phenomena in army life. Today the stipulation of achieving even greater unity and coordination in political, ideological and organizational activities within the party organization becomes particularly topical.

The party requirement of a decisive turn in our way of thinking and work demand of the party organizations to raise all party members for immediate action, bold and energetic measures and innovative work in the struggle for high combat readiness. This will upgrade even further the role and reputation of the party organization and its contribution to the system of comprehensive political work aimed at shaping in military cadres a revolutionary way of thinking and ability to engage in revolutionary action.

#### Lieutenant General Tsan'o Bakalov: Improving Cadre Selection and Skills

In his introductory speech at the National Party Conference, Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized that "leading cadres in all fields of social life must be always on the level of the new tasks. They must play a leading role in the nationwide struggle for high quality."

Today, in order for labor to be fruitful and efficient, profound knowledge, ability to handle complex equipment and technology, high-level organization and discipline, readiness to assume responsibility and reasonable risk and ability to look for new ideas and solutions and new work methods are needed.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov indicated, everything which will be resolved over the next 20 years will depend on the readiness and ability of the cadres to reorganize and to think and act as required by the conditions of both the present and the future.

Officers play an important role in the struggle for the implementation of party decisions and for the comprehensive enhancement of the quality of military activities and steadily upgrading the level of combat readiness. That is why the Ministry of National Defense, the Main Political Administration of the People's Army and commanders and political organs concentrate their attention on problems of improving cadre selection and skills.

The Leninist principles and norms of work with cadres, including their selection, were fully restored in our country with the decisions of the

historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The Leninist requirement of cadre selection based on political, practical and moral qualities was raised to a new level. These principles are of particular importance to the army under the contemporary conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, when science and scientific and technical accomplishments are a decisive factor in engaging in effective combat operations and efficient troop control.

In the selection of officer cadres for the BNA commanders and political and cadre organs are guided by the principle-minded theoretical stipulations developed in V. I. Lenin's works and our party's congress resolutions.

The management of the troops and waging modern combat require the military leader to be practical. He must be able to think and act within a limited period of time and despite a tremendous moral-mental and physical stress. A characteristic feature of practicality is the ability practically to organize the work in such a way as to obtain high results in accordance with contemporary party requirements. Practicality is manifested mostly in the specific organizational and ideological education work done by the officers among the personnel. It is distinguished by its ability to work in an organized and intensive manner, making use of the achievements of contemporary science and technology.

In cadre selection commanders and political organs pay particular attention to the party requirement of innovative thinking and revolutionary action. Qualitatively new results in combat training can be achieved by commanders and political workers who are able rapidly to restructure their way of thinking and approach in accordance with the new requirements governing combat operations, who are perspicacious in their plans and decisions, have a refined feeling for the new and promptly note and support the initiative of subordinates. In selecting cadres, commanders and political organs must concentrate on people who are competent, who are able to assume responsibility for the solution of difficult problems, who are able to apply the achievements of scientific and technical progress and who can apply comprehensive concern for meeting the material and spiritual requirements of the personnel.

Concern for the growth of such cadres assumes decisive significance today in the development of the army in accordance with the new party requirements as stipulated in the speeches by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the aktiv of the scientific and technical associations and the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria and his meetings with the members of the Council of Ministers and the first secretaries of okrug party committees and heads of BCP Central Committee departments.

The proper choice of cadres requires the profound study of the people and of their technical knowledge and skills, so that everyone may be placed in a position most suitable to his abilities.

V. I. Lenin stressed the great importance of direct contact with the people and the need to seek suitable individuals by testing their work and studying its nature. In the opposite case all good intentions stipulated in documents on improving work with cadres will remain mere wishes.

The party's Central Committee draws the attention to taking into consideration in the choice of leading cadres their ability to win over the masses and to enjoy the latter's trust. In order for a commander to be able to mobilize the forces of the military collective resolve and daring in his work are not sufficient by themselves. Also necessary for the commander is to win the sympathy and trust of the collective through his actions and personal charm. That is why the practical leadership of a military collective should be assigned to an officer who is firm, decisive, bold and able to rally the collective and to rely on the party and Komsomol organization, to be in touch with the military personnel and always to be aware of the real condition in the unit. He must be systematically concerned with his subordinates. He must respect their human dignity, be familiar with needs and moods and find the true way to the heart of the soldiers.

The choice of officer cadres is made on several levels. Initially it is expressed in the selection of young people entering military schools. It is here that they develop as individuals and acquire their knowledge and professional military training. Their ideological convictions and loyalty to the people and the cause of communism are strengthened. BNA reinforcements with qualified military cadres with high moral and political qualities depends to the greatest extent on this initial selection and on the training provided by the school.

The full development of the future BNA cadres depends on the teachers, commanders and political workers in the military schools. Their ideological convictions, professional training, high pedagogical standards and ability to lead the people and raise them in a spirit of love for their profession as defenders of the homeland and to find the way to reach the individual soldier are the base of the activities of junior officers. That is why officers teaching in VUZs must be graduates of higher military and military specialized schools with rich practical experience of work among the troops and, above all, with all the necessary qualities for successful military pedagogical activities.

The second stage of the selection is at the military school, during the training of the students. The greatest possibilities are found here for establishing the characteristic features of the person and determining his abilities, level of intellectual possibilities and suitability for a given type of military work.

In recent years the Ministry of National Defense has taken steps to improve the system, quality and efficiency of training in VUZs, strengthening the command-teaching personnel and updating material training facilities. This has improved the quality indicators of student training.

The next stage in the selection takes place in the units and subunits, among the junior officers. At that stage we must consider above all the professional growth and upbringing of cadres. The young officers have the knowledge and great desire to assert themselves in their work. However, they still lack the necessary practical experience. In the course of army life the young officers improve their educational skills, operative-tactical

thinking, political and practical qualities and organizational abilities. With the assumption of his duties the young officer begins to train and educate, make decisions and assume responsibility for their execution. That is why commanders, political organs and party organizations must give such officers specific assistance and share their experience with them, so that they may develop as good leaders and educators of their subordinates.

The most important task of commanders and political organs in cadre training is rank promotion. The main prerequisite for its successful implementation is the accurate and principle-minded assessment of the officers' political and practical qualities.

As anywhere else, in staffing units and subunits, the systematic implementation of the principle of blending and combining the experience of old cadres with the enthusiasm of young and capable officers is very important. It would be most expedient to use the forces and qualities of the different generations of cadres. This approach has a favorable influence on properly guiding the energy and enthusiasm of the young. Their aspiration toward the new and inclination to take reasonable risk in decision-making will be enriched by the greater practical and professional experience of the older generation of cadres.

Unfortunately, in some cases commanders and political and cadre officers do not always observe this continuity principle. For this reason the promotion of young officers does not always lead to strengthening the one-man command principle and multiplying the positive traditions of the unit or subunit.

We must not forget that commanders of all ranks also undergo a period of settling in their jobs and that they too must be the subject of concern in terms of their development as organizers and leaders of the overall life and activities of military collectives. Commanders, staffs and political organs must improve their control and aid system. Control must be preventive and aid must be competent and thorough.

One of the most topical problems of current party and cadre policy is upgrading cadre professional skills and their retraining. Making changes in the efforts to upgrade cadre skills is an objective necessity based on the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference. "Upgrading the educational standards and professional skills of cadres must be the main trend in the work of all organs and organizations in order to improve quality everywhere and in everything."

In answer to the party's decisions, everything necessary is currently being done in the armed forces for officer cadres to acquire more and more extensive knowledge in the military, military-scientific, political and ideological areas and steadily to make their skills consistent with new developments in military affairs and party requirements and to be always ready to act under most difficult conditions of modern warfare.

The leading cadres in the army are developed socialist individuals with good political and military training based on science. They have reached practical experience in organizing and controlling combat training activities.

This calls for improving the curriculums and educational influence of courses with officers who are graduates of a military school. Teaching must be based on the requirements of modern warfare.

Efforts to ensure the proper choice of officers to attend military academies and courses are of major importance in upgrading the quality of postgraduate work. Commanders who assign to military academies officers lacking the necessary political, practical and moral qualities act improperly.

Improving the selection and skills of cadres is a complex and responsible task. The system of practical, commander and training-method rallies, which has been established in army practices, is of great importance in officer training. They help to upgrade the knowledge of cadres, the study of the basic problems of organization and conduct of combat training, resolve problems of method and full utilization of training facilities and achieving greater training results.

Such rallies may be organized and held in units which have achieved the best results in combat and political training and where leading experience can be studied on the spot.

Based on the strict party requirements of innovative thinking and revolutionary action and the international situation, the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army will continue to make great efforts to improve the selection and skills of military cadres.

Lieutenant General Docent Yako Molkhov: Scientific and Technical Progress and Troop Control

By applying a Marxist-Leninist approach in assessing phenomena and processes in the development of society and taking into consideration the latest achievements of science and technology, our party reached the conclusion that laying the material and technical foundations consistent with mature socialism means creating a base on the level of contemporary scientific and technical progress, using the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. That is why the 12th BCP Congress proclaimed the 8th Five-Year Plan a five-year plan of scientific and technical progress and national economic intensification.

Particular attention is paid in its resolution to the development of cybernetics and electronics and consequent comprehensive automation as the main lever of scientific and technical progress. The creation and use of automated systems in production and other social areas, management in particular, were indicated by the congress as the first and essential strategic task in building a developed socialist society. Its decisive significance has been repeatedly stressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his post-congress reports and speeches. These stipulations unquestionably apply in the development and utilization of management systems in the BNA.

The new means and methods of armed struggle rapidly changed the role and significance and the volume and content of troop control and reduced the time and condition for its implementation.



The mass utilization of conventional weapons for destruction and, particularly, the use of nuclear missiles will entail drastic and fast changes in the situation, extensive spatial scope of military operations, high-level dynamism and maneuverability and disappearance of the sharp line separating the front from the rear. This increases the importance of the time element to an incredible degree. Today the duration of the complete cycle of control of some types of armed forces and branches is measured not in hours but in minutes and even seconds. The struggle for gaining time has become one of the most important problems of troop control. Today Suvorov's foresight according to which "one minute decides the success of a battle; one hour the success of the campaign; one day, the fate of the country" has assumed a literal meaning.

The increased possibilities of means of destruction assign tremendous responsibility to commanders and staffs. In previous wars errors and shortcomings in troop control could be corrected to one extent or another. Under contemporary conditions, such errors could be fatal and result in severe consequences not only in terms of carrying out an assignment (reaching the objective of the operations) but also in terms of the life of subordinates and, on a strategic scale, the fate of the entire country.

That is why today success in military operations is defined not only by the ratio of forces and weapons but quality control as well.

Control in peacetime troop activities at the present stage has also become more complex and acquired the nature of a comprehensive process. The volume and complexity of troop supplies have increased. New problems and difficulties have appeared in training commanders, staffs and troops. The role and significance of scientific research in the country's defense and the requirements of their management have increased. The availability of new modern means of destruction in the armed forces radically changed the nature and content of control function in maintaining constant combat readiness in war and, particularly, peacetime.

That is why the use of computers in controlling troops and weaponry systems and developing automated systems is a reflection of the objectively increased need drastically to upgrade control efficiency. The development of automated systems offers a radical solution to the question of making the possibilities of control systems consistent with those of the means of destruction. In this connection, some military specialists consider the automation of troop controls and weaponry systems the third stage in the revolution in military affairs.

By stressing the important role and significance of automation in troop control under contemporary conditions, we must emphasize that it does not replace the commander or his intuition and creativity but, conversely, enhances them even further. That is why troop control automation must meet essentially two basic requirements: upgrading control operativeness with high reliability and endurance and upgrading the optimality of possible solutions and planning in the utilization of forces and means.

The use of means of troop control automation is based on the existing ways and means of work of commanders and staffs. However, this also requires their steady improvement with a view to ensuring the fullest possible utilization of their potential.

As was pointed out at the 12th BCP Congress, the efforts for the implementation of this task must apply not to a single trend or sector but to all realms of social activities. Under BNA conditions, improving management on the basis of automation should take place in all types of activities, on all levels of management by commanders and staffs and in comprehensive troop support activities. The reason is that when we speak of the development of electronics we have in mind the use of computers and microprocessors not in a single although very important area of military affairs but in all areas. Naturally, the efficiency in the use of automation is expressed in the management of troops and control of weaponry systems. However, electronics must also be applied in controlling the combat readiness of the troops, combat and operative training, rear, technical and financial support, etc.

Comrade T. Zhivkov's new theoretical developments and practical approaches indicate the ways of resolving basic interrelated components of comprehensive automation; the creation of the necessary technical base; the development of program-mathematical; information support; and training the necessary cadres in improving their workstyle and methods.

Computers and microprocessors are the material and technical base of comprehensive automation. It is here that we feel most strongly the influence of scientific and technical progress. Within a relatively short period of 15 years three-generation large computers have been applied, the latest of them being compatible from the technical and program viewpoints. There is a trend of using computers with increasingly more powerful and more modern organization of the computer process. This is best confirmed by the "information capacity" indicator, which expresses the possibility of data processing by a computer in 1 hour. In some computers the information capacity has increased by a factor of 320 during the period under consideration. It is precisely such increased opportunities that must be considered the material foundation for the intellectualizing of managerial work.

The trend of concentrating powerful computers in computer centers is paralleled by the utilization of mini- and microcomputers (portable and stationery) in individual projects. An essentially new feature of computers is work with remote display panels installed at the workplaces of corresponding officials. The new trends in the creation of computers, based on the development of the scientific and technical revolution, are the following: increasing the speed of action (from several dozen to hundreds of thousands and millions of operations per second), the average time of continuing work, increased memory capacity, reduced size, the possibility of speech input, etc.

A major prerequisite in successfully resolving the problem of developing the material and technical base of automation in troop control is found in the great successes achieved by our country in developing and producing computer and microprocessor equipment. Our country holds one of the leading places in the world in the production and export of such equipment. This calls for

changes in the creative thinking and activities of leading military cadres in order to ensure the fullest possible utilization of the country's scientific and industrial potential in upgrading the combat readiness of the armed forces and the country's defense capability.

The efficient functioning of automated troop control systems (ASUV) requires, in addition to advanced technical facilities, the availability of a certain program-mathematical apparatus which will enable us to resolve various problems issued by management organs, with the help of the technical facilities of automated control systems.

In the initial period, with the independent use of computers, expenditures for program-mathematical support reached 30 to 40 percent of the cost of ASU [automated control systems]. Most of the cost was that of technical facilities. Domestic and foreign experience indicates that currently this accounts for 80 percent of the cost of an ASU, with a tendency to reach 90 percent.

That is why program-mathematical support is considered today as problem number one. The insufficiently complete and efficient utilization of installed computers is due mainly to the limited quantity and possibilities of program mathematical support. That is why the party documents stipulate that such support must be expanded and organized on an industrial basis. The efforts are being focused on replacing manual labor with engineering means and methods of automation of program support itself.

The latest trends in the area of program-mathematical support involve a conversion from modeling individual control activities to overall modeling of combats and operations through the development of problems and complexes for computers.

In the final account, the efficiency of the development and utilization of ASUV is based on cadre training. On this subject Comrade T. Zhivkov stressed at the October 1981 conference that "tremendous work lies ahead in training cadres for this work. As of now, to this effect we must reorganize the higher engineering institutes. We must develop special programs for training of specialists and cadres--managing and performing--in the senior grades of the unified secondary schools and technicums and through the unified cadre retraining system...."

The training of specialists in automation agencies must be directed toward mastering the steadily developing technical facilities and ways and methods of program-mathematical support and the new methods and technologies for work with computers.

This is followed by the question of training cadres by management organs who need and use the systems. Their training must ensure the use of ASUV in the workstyle and methods of commanders and staffs.

In the course of such training the approach and, above all, the thinking relative to problems of scientific and technical progress and, more specifically, the automation of troop control, must be changed. The leading cadres

must set the example of revolutionary thinking and acting. In this respect, thanks to the firm and consistent line personally followed by Army General D. Zhurov, minister of national defense, the attitude of leading cadres toward ASUV problems has changed significantly. Nevertheless, there are still cases of belittling work in this respect on the part of leading cadres and a tendency to avoid its direct management. This hinders the scope and time for the installation of ASUV.

The use of contemporary automation facilities could ensure a drastic improvement in the efficiency and continuity and confidentiality in troop control, thus meeting the strict requirements governing its quality improvements.

Lieutenant General Stefan Kovachev: Decisive Upturn in Training Intensification

The National Party Conference and, more specifically, the long-term BCP program for improving quality call for the problem of efficiency and quality to be considered in the closest possible connection and unity with the main trend of comprehensive intensification, as approved by the 12th Party Congress. As Comrade T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, emphasizes, "...the building of a domestic material base for mature socialism in Bulgaria must take place essentially through the intensive development of the economy and the other areas of social life. We must achieve all-round intensification which will not only save on labor but which will ensure the fullest possible utilization of the three elements of the production process: labor means, labor tools, and labor."

This party stipulation applies to all realms of social life, including training and education activities. It can be clearly said that commanders, staffs and political organs in the BNA have dedicated and are continuing to dedicate extensive efforts to improve the efficiency of quality of military training on the basis of the intensification of the training process. A positive assessment must be given to the elaboration of the theoretical foundations of intensification of military training as a mandatory prerequisite for finding the best practical ways, sources and reserves for its implementation in the combat training of the troops. A great deal has been done for the fuller identification of the internal reserves inherent in the training process and stimulating the factors which upgrade training efficiency, improved activeness of cognitive activities of troops and commanders, the use of new methodical technology in the training process and improvements in the training and material base as a foundation for the intensification of troop training.

Despite the unquestionable positive aspects of the activities of commanders, staffs and political organs, we can still not speak of a decisive upturn in the intensification of military training, for the accomplishments so far have not been consistent with the strict requirements set by the National Party Conference and the tasks based on the complex and stressed international situation. It is true that a drastic change is the result of a complex and relatively lengthy process in which slow quantitative accumulations lead to a new qualitative status. The main reason, however, is the subjective factor represented by commanders, staffs and political organs, who have not been able everywhere to develop and, above all, to adequately implement the entire

system of organizational-managerial, material and technical, personnel-psychological and purely didactic factors leading to a drastic change in the intensification of military training within the shortest possible time.

There is no doubt whatsoever that an upturn in the intensification of training activities depends above all on the one-man commander and his specific, purposeful command organizational work, above all the extensive planning of the training process, proper organization and prompt and preventive control of execution.

Despite unquestionable successes achieved in planning combat and political training, a great deal more remains to be desired from the viewpoint of intensification in order to rally more fully the efforts of the staff, the branches and services of the armed forces in achieving the organic unity of training and education, methodical consistency and comprehensiveness in all training and exercises, the rational utilization of available training facilities, the exclusion of duplication of measures, taking over the functions of subordinates and providing a circumstance in which the independence, initiative and creativity of subordinates can be manifested.

Unfortunately, there have been cases in which the planning of combat and political training is assigned to secondary type individuals who lack adequate knowledge and practical experience. This approach hurts not only the work but the prestige of the commander. It leads to violations of the basic laws of the military education process and is a major hindrance in the further intensification of training. In the final account, the difficulties are compensated through forceful action, seeking means of compensating for lost time or omitted parts of the curriculum, regardless of the level of psychophysical stress and the laws governing the shaping and assertion of the necessary knowledge, skills and abilities of the personnel.

It is an unquestionable fact that the intensification of military training is most closely related to time, military labor productivity per unit of time, time discipline and performance discipline. In training practice, however, we come across negative phenomena which indicate cases of misunderstood military training intensification, which erect a major obstacle on the way to achieving a decisive change in this respect. This is confirmed by the aspiration of some commanders to plan a great deal of projects to be completed within a short period of training time.

Thus, for example, the conversion of the training center into a conveyor belt for classes and exercises indeed creates conditions for gaining time but not for achieving high-quality training, which is, actually, the final objective of the intensification of the training process.

In order to achieve a decisive upturn in the intensification of military training control of execution is particularly important. We can no longer say that there is no control. Conversely, there is control and even more control than is necessary. We are discussing the type of control which will profoundly determine the true condition and the steps which must be taken in order to treat the disease itself and the reasons for it, rather than its

consequences. A decisive change in the intensification of military training requires prompt, systematic and preventive control which consists of checking above all the level of preparedness of instructors for next-day's classes, regular instructions, organization of instruction-methodical and presentation classes, exchange of leading experience, etc. Such control, combined with specific help on the spot, is effective and leads to positive changes. Conversely, frequent nonsystematic investigations, prepared and carried out hastily, can only distract commanders from their immediate tasks, lead to unnecessary petty supervision and seriously hinder qualitative training. Total order must be applied in this respect in the overall activities of the army organism. We must decisively improve the organization of control and aid to the troops as a particularly important means of upgrading the efficiency and quality of military training.

Particularly important in achieving a decisive improvement in the intensification of combat and political training is the prompt identification and elimination of contradictions in military training which, at a certain stage, could become a major hindrance in this respect. It is a question not only of contradictions which are generally applicable in training, such as the increasing volume of scientific and technical information and the limited time for its mastery, but, above all, contradictions which are specific to military training. The most important among them are contradictions between the requirements of modern combat and the possibility of modeling and conducting training under circumstances maximally similar to actual combat; between the increasing number of military specialists and the psychological suitability of individuals; between requirements of constant high-level combat readiness and principled methodical consistency and gradual nature of military training; between individual and collective training; between the dynamic stereotype of young people before and after military service, etc. As Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasizes, the "contradictions appear and cannot fail to appear in life.... Such contradictions are objective and must not be denied, ignored or avoided but identified, realized and resolved on time."

Consequently, a decisive change in the intensification of military training will be achieved the faster and more completely the more promptly we identify, make a profound study of and surmount existing or newly created contradictions in the course of training and education work.

Further improvements in training facilities are a major prerequisite in achieving a decisive upturn in military training intensification.

Today, Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasizes, the successful building of the material and technical foundation consistent with mature socialism cannot be built without the fullest possible utilization of intensive factors in all sectors and areas of activity, any more than it is possible to pursue a course of comprehensive intensification without ensuring the most efficient utilization of the established material and technical base.

In accordance with the BCP course intensification must be comprehensive. It must be based on the fast application of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress, comprehensive automation and mechanization and dissemination and utilization of leading experience.

Greater attention should be paid to the development of new teaching materials and the efficient utilization of existing training facilities.

The most characteristic essential feature of the long-term party program of quality improvement is that it is addressed to the entire people and, under army conditions, to all of us, from the private to the general. Consequently, a decisive upturn in the intensification of military training and, hence, the high quality of training activities will be the result of the activities of all of us everywhere and in everything.

Lieutenant General Lyubcho Toshkov: Strengthening the Discipline and Military Collectives

The decisions of the National Party Conference and, particularly, the requirement of establishing a new approach and developing creative thinking and revolutionary action call for reinterpreting our obligations in strengthening discipline and military collectives as among the most important prerequisites for the qualitative implementation of assignments.

Now, under the new circumstances, we have a clearer idea of discipline as the main binding link in the entire chain of military efforts to enhance the training and combat readiness of the troops. The need for the further clarification of the political significance of discipline and its role in upgrading the quality of all activities is given priority in the comprehensive activities of commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol management aimed at strengthening the discipline.

The innovative approach calls for considering discipline a combination of the individual qualities of the soldier, as an element of human culture, conscientiousness and behavior and an attitude toward military work and duty and toward the members of the collective.

Taking into consideration the lasting significance of discipline as a mandatory prerequisite for the qualitative solution of problems, I shall discuss some of the conditions and factors which influence it and determine its condition.

First of all I would like to mention commanders of all ranks. Without radical changes in the way of thinking, attitude and actions of the command and political cadre and without the development of a new comprehensive understanding of problems of discipline no major change in resolving this problem of basic importance to the army is possible.

With its personal example and proper disciplinary practice, the commander (the chief) is the main booster in the implementation of the party's resolutions and the orders of the minister of national defense on strengthening discipline and, hence, resolving all problems.

After the National Party Conference a high percentage of commanders improved their ability to approach creatively the search for new ways and means of influencing the personnel in order to raise discipline to the level of the new requirements and tasks. Well aware of the objective laws of social

development, including that of the army, and the condition and possibilities of army collectives, commanders such as officers Mikhaylov, Gerasimov and Petrov achieved positive results in strengthening discipline and military collectives.

The clearly formulated objectives and skillful connecting of discipline with the solution of the main problem formulated at the National Party Conference of quality in everything and everywhere took these units to the leading ranks with high results in their combat and political training in honor of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution and the BNA.

At the present stage discipline becomes incredibly important, for it increasingly determines the quality of implementation of the main task--maintaining a constant high combat readiness. A military collective in which no strict statutory order and a conscious "iron," I would say, discipline, a discipline everywhere and in everything, cannot resolve successfully problems of combat and political training as a base of combat readiness under the new conditions of the international situation and army developments. The personal discipline of the officer, sergeant or private and the qualitative implementation of assignments in upgrading combat readiness reflect one of the most important manifestations of their consciousness and responsibility to the party and the people.

The proper disciplinary practice of commanders (chiefs) of all ranks plays an exceptionally important role in enhancing the condition of discipline and improving military collectives. Under the conditions of our socialist army no efforts could or should be made to strengthen discipline through nonstatutory means. Inaction and sympathetic tolerance and abuse of power, or denigrating the personal dignity and honor of military servicemen are equally harmful in terms of the moral-political condition and combat readiness of a given unit.

Today all units within the subjective factor must analyze and realize much more profoundly the party's stipulation according to which responsibility for discipline increases in proportion with the status of the command bodies. In accordance with these stipulations everyone must understand and find his position and assess his role and responsibility in resolving this problem.

No high results in strengthening the discipline are possible without the implementation of a set of organizational and educational measures to develop the self-discipline of the military servicemen, which is the most accurate indicator and the core of socialist military discipline.

The increasing utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the armed forces, the development of most advanced equipment and armaments and the use of complex mechanisms, instruments and electronic apparatus demand high discipline and the strictest possible observance of instructions and directions.

Today the number of collective weapons has increased significantly. This calls not only for upgrading the individual responsibility of every soldier



but also the need to develop new qualities of discipline, coordination, collectivism and trust among the troops in the individual collectives. Even the slightest manifestation of lack of discipline by a member of the collective may prevent the implementation of the assignment of an entire unit. That is why discipline, obedience and strengthening army collectives assume primary significance.

Discipline and the military collective must be considered as being in a state of dialectical unity. Overall activities in their strengthening take place on a parallel and simultaneous basis, for military discipline in the socialist army, based on high political conscientiousness and commander initiative and creativity, most directly influences the solution of problems related to the communist education of the military personality.

The nature of military discipline under contemporary conditions is defined, above all, by the ideological convictions and moral firmness of the troops and their moral and mental state as prerequisites for a qualitative mastery of knowledge, the development of lasting skills and habits and their application in military practice.

In turn, the collective is established in the course of resolving the daily problems of combat and political training. The unity and effectiveness of the collective depend on the ability to rally the soldiers for the qualitative and prompt implementation of assignments. Discipline indicates how and to what extent the soldier combines within his mind the requirements of military duty and public norms and ideals with his internal personal wishes and preferences. The higher the discipline in a collective becomes, the more successfully will the soldiers rally in carrying out assignments and the higher will the quality of military work become.

The force and unity of the collective are manifested most vividly in the influence it exerts on the proper development of its individual members. As Comrade T. Zhivkov points out, this calls for "shifting the center of gravity from the top to the bottom of the social pyramid," i.e., the intensification of the political activeness of military collectives and the socialist consciousness of the troops for steadily strengthening discipline and enhancing the quality of military work in order steadily to upgrade the combat readiness of the troops.

In considering merely a few factors and circumstances which determine the need to strengthen the discipline as a prerequisite for high quality, allow me to indicate another important "external" factor: the steadily worsening international situation. This situation urgently demands of us high-level discipline, quality in all activities, high professional skills and awareness of and a feeling of responsibility for the defense of the homeland and the achievements of real socialism.

Our political organs and party, Komsomol and trade union organizations should develop more active and efficient efforts in resolving these important problems in accordance with the ideas and resolutions of the National Party Conference. They must wage a more persistent struggle against conservatism,

routine and skepticism in enhancing the quality and discipline of the training process and discipline in performing independent assignments and converting knowledge, skills and convictions into a motivation for behavior and action.

#### Major General Stoycho Stoychev: Perfecting the Army Way of Life

In the functioning process of the armed forces the army way of life provides the necessary conditions for normal physical and spiritual development and for maintaining and restoring the forces of the personnel in accordance with the strict requirements of combat readiness. The army way of life is an inseparable and exceptionally important part of the entire system of army life. It is influenced by the latter and in turn influences all of its aspects.

The problem of the place and role of the way of life in the overall system of army life, the good physical development and health, the enhancement of discipline, organization and the political and patriotic upbringing of the personnel and enhancing the combat readiness of the troops is particularly important and topical today.

When the movement for a model way of life developed 20-25 years ago, these problems were clarified theoretically. Good traditions were established and experience was gained in their practical solution. An effective method for the overall comprehensive solution of problems of way of life was found with the help of the commissions which were set up to study, maintain and evaluate the condition of the way of life. The indicators of a model way of life provided high purposefulness and concreteness in the actions of commanders and all authorities in this respect. Primitivism was surmounted and the aspiration steadily to improve the way of life consistent with the development and successes of our country and people was fired up. A major change was made, the beneficial influence of which has lasted to this day in some respects (such as the development of material living facilities, for example). This experience is valuable under present circumstances as well.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's idea that our overall development needs essentially new, revolutionary and radical solutions and actions, based on innovative thinking, forces us to make certain assessments and conclusions in the area of the way of life in the BNA.

The first most general conclusion is that in 40 years of people's regime and essentially as a result of the implementation of the party's December 1972 social program the way of life of the personnel in our armed forces improved decisively.

The change in the appearance of our barracks has been the most visible. The areas were asphalted and landscaped and sanitation facilities improved. The material and technical base of the way of life changed and improved radically --dormitories, shower rooms, latrines, baths and laundry rooms, medical centers, messes, stands, meeting areas and regimental clubs, Dimitrov rooms, classrooms, etc.

The soldiers' food is based on scientific norms. In most public catering cafeterias virtually the maximal level of discounts--50 percent--has been reached. The volume of treatment-diagnostic work has increased in the medical centers and the military hospitals were expanded and modernized. The new building of the Higher Military Medical Institute is the pride of the BNA. Facilities and use of sanatoriums and military rest homes improved. The soldiers were issued dress uniforms. The Commissariat Services Enterprise was modernized. It is improving services to the command personnel by introducing standard tailoring services and its store system. Providing the command personnel with housing is a constant concern of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense. Despite difficulties, particularly in Sofia, the Ministry of National Defense owns large housing facilities which enable it to resolve this vitally important problem.

The second most general conclusion is that the extensive possibilities of improving the contemporary way of life and consumer services are not being fully utilized in some units. The organization of consumer services is below the level attained by the material facilities.

In some units the quality and variety of the food is inconsistent with the requirements of the new nutrition tables. The order and standards of feeding in some soldier mess halls are unsatisfactory. Not all units are making efforts to reach the maximally allowed reduction in the price of food in public catering cafeterias. The layout and variety of goods offered in some canteens and buffets remain on a low standard.

Despite the adopted method of taking the necessary measurements for the standard sewing of officer and sergeant clothing on the spot, in the distant garrisons some commanders do not provide the necessary time for services to the officers and no suitable reception rooms have been set up. The working hours of some stores are not consistent with the free time of the officers and the quality of the fabrics and some objects is inconsistent with the increased requirements of the personnel. In some units area for consumer services offered to the soldiers are primitive. Clothing and shoe repairs for the troops are not provided regularly. Washing and laundering regulations are violated.

The problem of water supplies has not been resolved in some units. There are delays in ensuring the proper heating of barracks. Weaknesses are allowed in planning new housing construction in the garrisons in terms of quality and the maintenance of available housing.

Shortcomings in consumer services offered the personnel are due to a variety of reasons which, in the final account, reflect the level of command-organizational work of commanders, staffs and respective agencies. The 15th All-Army Party Conference raised the question of improving work in army units. This particularly applies to the organization of daily life.

Army life requires systematic and daily management. A great deal has been done in this respect and good foundations have been laid for the planning system. However, this is a difficult problem which, a whole, has not been

resolved fully. Full unity in the management of army life by unit commanders and staffs has not been reached as yet.

This problem will not be resolved by itself, empirically. Along with summing up available experience, we must elaborate a theoretical foundation with the participation of all central bodies. The help of the senior authorities would become more purposeful and efficient if an overall model is developed for the management of army life in the unit. The solution of this most general problem will have a positive influence on the system of the amenities of daily life as an inseparable part of life in the army.

In turn, the second task--improving the organization of consumer services themselves--contributes to resolving the general problem of upgrading the overall organization of army life and its management. All the possible steps taken to improve the way of life--organizational, training, educational, political, material-technical and others--at all command levels, from top to bottom, must be organically combined and concentrated if we are aiming at obtaining the maximal results and change. Their partial and separate implementation, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has said, is "cosmetic." Such an organic form of work aimed at improving the way of life includes the contemplated armywide review of way of life during the new school year.

The elaboration of strict objectives and indicators in all the areas of the way of life, attainable at the present stage, and the struggle for attaining them must involve not only unit commanders but senior staffs and central authorities. This must be a decisive step toward improving the management of army life. An all-army review is not a new method. Under present-day conditions, with good organization and management, it provides the most radical possibility of surmounting the shortcomings of partial and isolated "cosmetic" measures in this respect.

Considering the importance of the way of life in the overall system of army life, the solution of this problem will have a beneficial impact not only on the physical condition and health of the personnel but also on their discipline, political and patriotic upbringing and awareness and the overall organization of the units and, in the final account, their combat capability and readiness.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov has reminded us in several of his statements that everything which is being done and will be done to develop and build up the socialist system in Bulgaria will be for the sake of the future of man. The solution of this general problem under army conditions is a necessary foundation for the more successful implementation of the specific task of the armed forces of defending our socialist fatherland.

Major General Ivan Parmakov: Socialist Management of Armaments and Ordnance

The public socialist ownership of productive capital is the economic foundation of socialism and a determining link in the system of socialist production relations. This means that its development and improvement objectively lead to changes in other components of socialist production relations. The

theoretical stipulations and practical approaches relative to socialist ownership and its management and development, based on Comrade Todor Zhivkov's reports and statements after the 12th BCP Congress, are of particular interest. These stipulations are of exceptional importance in the theoretical and practical development of the economic mechanism and the new approaches in the planning and socialist organization of labor aimed at optimally combining national, collective and individual interest.

Two forms of socialist ownership--state (national) and cooperative (group)--were established in our country after the victory of the socialist revolution.

The two forms of ownership are closely interrelated. They are subject to a process of interpenetration and enrichment, as a result of which they will blend within a single socialist ownership of the whole people. "The real owner of both forms of ownership is the socialist state empowered by the people."

The problem of the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager plays the main role in Comrade T. Zhivkov's theoretical elaborations. They emphasize that "all labor collectives and individual working people must act on a daily basis as true managers of socialist property and feel that their personal well-being depends on their work."

What does managing socialist property involve? First, the entire organization of procurements and application of the achievements of technical progress; production and marketing of goods within the framework of the individual unit. Second, the formulation of a counterplan, in which the role of the owner must be taken into consideration, in other words, it must be consistent with the requirements of the national economic plan and ensure its implementation. Third, the implementation of all economic and organizational activities which shape the economic organization as an individual commodity producer functioning on the basis of total cost accounting.

The armaments, equipment, buildings, clothing and everything used by the troops in the BNA are socialist property--the property of the state. The true owner of this property is our people and its socialist management has been entrusted to the military servicemen in the armed forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Economic management is especially protected by the Constitution as a form of ownership by the whole people. That is why it is the sacred duty of every serviceman. This obligation also stems from the stipulations of the military oath and the regulations and instructions in our army and is the official duty of every military serviceman.

The socialist management of armaments and ordnance includes an entire set of phenomena, processes, relations and steps aimed at maintaining them in a state of constant technical working order and suitability for combat use. It has been assigned to the troop collectives, thus giving them real rights and authority to manage them and use them highly efficiently in the interest of combat training and readiness.

The socialist management of armaments, equipment and military technical property is assessed on the basis of a set of indicators such as planned use, qualitative and full servicing and repairs; coefficient of technical readiness; and proper storing and utilization.

In the light of the contemporary party requirements, socialist management presumes the following:

The profound study of ordnance and armaments and the maximal use of their possibilities in training and combat activities;

Firm improvements in the organization of the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and in the systems of procurements, training facilities, way of life and services;

Radical improvements in the use, repair and protection of military property.

The implementation of these responsible assignments depends above all on the subjective factor which, in the final account, has been entrusted with socialist management of the property assigned to the armed forces. Those most responsible for their implementation are the commander, his staff, the authorities in charge of armaments and ordnance, the political organs and the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

The high military theoretical and practical training of the personnel, achieved as a result of a high-quality training process, is a prerequisite for achieving great successes in managing armaments and ordnance. Particularly important in this case is the high quality of technical, specialized, tactical and fire training, and exercises in conducting field training and large operative-tactical maneuvers.

Military regulations and discipline are the other essential elements which directly affect the management of socialist property. Army life indicates that the best and most lasting successes in maintaining, proper utilization, servicing, repairing and preserving the equipment are achieved by units in which the activities and life of the troops in terms of the use of armaments and equipment are strictly consistent with the requirements of the bylaws and regulations.

The struggle for the prevention of accidents involving weapons and equipment is a major prerequisite in managing socialist property. Otherwise substantial material losses are inflicted on the country and the army who thus become deprived of expensive materiel which, in turn, has an adverse mental effect on the personnel and on parents and relatives.

All forms of command-organizational and party political work are used in struggling against extraordinary accidents. However, the successes which have been achieved are insufficient. Conditions leading to accidents have not been entirely eliminated.

Positive experience has been acquired in many BNA units. For example, Officer Stoilov strictly controls the use of the equipment in its daily use

and in maintaining strict order in the vehicle pool. Naturally good results have been achieved.

A major objective prerequisite for the high-quality organization of socialist management of armaments and ordnance is the developed base for servicing, repairs and storing. Revolutionary changes have been made in this respect over the past few years. Today every unit has its own base for maintaining armaments and equipment. Most of the service sectors are mechanized and automated. Technical workshops are equipped with servicing, repair and diagnostic facilities. The ordnance is stored in enclosed premises and some of the pool premises are equipped in accordance with the latest requirements: heated premises, available hot water and mechanized fueling of the machines, smoke removal systems, etc. The objective conditions exist. Everything henceforth will depend on the army collectives, commanders and technical bodies.

The conclusion is that all the necessary conditions for the socialist management of the property assigned to the BNA have been provided in our country. Their full utilization depends on the activeness, responsibility and initiative of the command and technical personnel and on active command-organizational and political activities. In accordance with the stricter requirements set by the BCP concerning the managers of socialist property, the efforts of commanders, staffs, technical organs and political authorities must be mobilized. The profound meaning and significance of the obligation of managing socialist property must be brought to light. Positive and leading experience must be encouraged. Greater strictness should be displayed toward the careless and those who destroy national property.

The belief that socialist management of armaments and equipment and all military ordnance is a guarantee for high combat readiness and a fruitful training process must become deeply embedded in the minds and practical activities of the troops.

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CSO: 2200/36

# PLANS FOR HIGH TECHNOLOGY TRAINING OF YOUTH OUTLINED

## Dimitrov Youth Union Plenum

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 15 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] Information on the Proceedings of the 9th DKMS Central Committee Plenum

The 9th Komsomol Central Committee Plenum was held in the Georgi Kirkov Hall of Party House in Sofia yesterday. It was attended by Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Also attending were Komsomol Central Committee members and candidate members, members of the Central Auditing Commission of the Dimitrov Komsomol and the first secretaries of okrug, obshtina and rayon Komsomol committees not members of the Komsomol Central Committee, TNTM [Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity] personalities and Komsomol activists. Heads of ministries, central departments and mass and public organizations and scientific and economic personalities participated in the work of the plenum. Stanka Shopova, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, presented the report of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee Bureau "Tasks of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] in Training the Young Generation With Computers and Their Application in Production Automation, Services and Management." Statements on the report were made by Krust'o Ivanov, Komsomol Central Committee bureau member and first secretary of the Sofia City Komsomol Committee; Academician Blagovest Sendov, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences deputy chairman; Plamen Marinov, combine Komsomol committee secretary at the Orgtekhnikha Combine in Silistra; Milen Georgiev, Pioneer at School No 20 in Sofia; Penka Yankova, Komsomol administrative committee secretary at the Mathematics High School in Plovdiv; Ivan Gorolomov, first secretary of the Komsomol obshtina committee in Kazanluk; Kostadin Filipov, Komsomol Central Committee member and first deputy editor in chief of NARODNA MLADEZH; Prof Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress and chairman of the TNTM Republic Council; Panayot Bostandzhiev, director of the V. I. Lenin Electronics Technical School in Sofia; Professor Angel Pisarev, deputy minister of public education; Marin Kunchev, deputy general director of the Instrument Manufacturing and Automation DSO [State Economic Trust]; and Todor Yotsev, Komsomol Central Committee member and secretary of the Komsomol Committee at the V. I. Lenin VMEI [Higher Machine Engineering Institute] in Sofia.

Comrade Chudomir Aleksandrov made an extensive presentation to the participants in the plenum.



Nikolay Dobrev, Komsomol Central Committee secretary, submitted the report of the commission on the draft resolution. The plenum unanimously adopted the report submitted by the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau, the resolution and the program on Komsomol tasks in training the young generation with computers and their application in production, services and management automation.

#### Shopova Report at Plenum

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 15 Sep 84 pp 2-3

[Text] Comrades:

We are holding today's plenum immediately after 9 September, day one of the socialist revolution in our country. This great day of Bulgaria, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council chairman defined it in his speech at the ceremonious meeting on 8 September, marked the 40th anniversary of the turning of the brightest pages in the 13-century-old Bulgarian history.

In 40 years of socialist development, under the wise leadership of the BCP, the Bulgarian People's Republic was able to surmount the extreme backwardness which prevailed at the time of the socialist revolution, to achieve exceptional successes in its socioeconomic and cultural development and to earn a deserved reputation in the world.

Today our socialist homeland is a firm link in the socialist community. It is linked in fraternal unity of action with the Soviet Union and the other countries of real socialism. It is developing dynamically, at a stable pace. It is confidently advancing in building a developed socialist society. Although it was set figuratively, it is quite accurate that within a short historical period our country covered the way from the wooden plow to modern computers, nuclear power and outer space, reaching unparalleled heights of the human spirit.

The great changes which have taken place in our country are the result of the efforts and talent of millions of working people, guided by the wise socioeconomic strategy of the Bulgarian Communist Party, consistent with the specific conditions of the country; they are the result of its Leninist April general line.

The universally acknowledged role and transforming innovative activities of Comrade Todor Zhivkov are of tremendous significance in the successes and reputation achieved by socialist Bulgaria and its bright and optimistic prospects. He has made a remarkable personal contribution as the inspirer, strategist and organizer of the party's Leninist April general line, a line the main objective of which is the increasingly full satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the socialist working person, of the people. The 12th BCP Congress, Comrade Todor Zhivkov's post-congressional activities and the National Party Conference convincingly proved the strength and maturity and the ability of the BCP to define the main trends of our development far into the future and to organize the efforts of the entire people in their

struggle for building a developed socialist society and in its march into the future.

The young Bulgarian generation, nurtured in the revolutionary labor tradition of its people, accepted the decisions of these loftiest party forums with conviction, with an open face, actively supporting them and making its contribution to their implementation through specific accomplishments.

Currently the Dimitrov Komsomol is directing its efforts toward the active involvement of the entire youth in the struggle for high quality everywhere and in everything, aware of its tasks. Inspired, dedicated, highly competent and creative toil is the best answer of today's daring young generation of April Bulgaria to the great concern and attention with which society and the BCP surround it.

With filial gratitude we wish today to emphasize once again the tremendous importance and role of the party program of work with the young people and the Komsomol--the BCP Central Committee theses (1967) and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Komsomol Central Committee, as well as the general youth movement for technical and scientific creativity, which was organized on his personal initiative.

The topical problems and approaches of our development formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the 12th Party Congress and his remarkable speeches to the aktiv of the scientific and technical associations and the Union of Scientific Workers, as well as after the Moscow Economic Conference, define the new tasks of the young people and the Komsomol and earmark new guidelines in increasing the contribution of the youth in the development of the scientific and technical progress.

Now, as he said, "...the main area of the struggle against imperialism and the main battlefield on which the question of the advantages of socialism is decided, is that of economics. We can achieve strategic advantages in the realm of economics only on the basis of the dynamic development of the scientific and technical revolution."

We consider as our prime historical responsibility and our class duty the participation of the youth in the development of the scientific and technical revolution today; to be the first assistant of the party in the struggle for high quality and an active factor in mastering and applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

We will be able successfully to implement this main task of ours only if we fire and energize in the struggle for scientific and technical progress our entire youth, if we continue to implement the youth initiative titled "Scientific and Technical Progress and Leading Experience Are a Territory for Youth Daring," putting it in the leading ranks of the struggle, with the people, there where the youth collectives, our Komsomol societies and young men and women are to be found.

Today we see with particular clarity the need to expose young people to the strategic trends of scientific and technical progress and to master and make extensive use of computers.

This process will not only bring about progressive changes in technology but also considerable advantages in our favor in resolving the historical problem of "who-whom?" in the confrontation between real socialism and imperialism.

That is why the first and most important thing today is for our Komsomol to help every young man and woman to realize the truth that by training young people in the field of informatics and equipping them with the knowledge and skill to handle programming equipment we are resolving above all class problems.

This 9th Plenum is dedicated precisely to this topic: the tasks of the Komsomol in training the young generation to work with computers and their application in production, service and management automation.

This is also the first plenum after the National Party Conference. Since the conference we have formulated specific practical approaches to establish the Komsomol as the closest assistant of the party in the struggle for high quality and for mastering peak scientific and technical accomplishments and their practical application. We have tried to apply such approaches above all in the Komsomol societies, which are the application centers of our entire work.

Today we must continue our practical discussions on training young people for life, their educational and professional upbringing and their participation in the strategic directions of scientific and technical progress. It is the discussion we began at our 14th Congress.

The question which legitimately arises is why must we pay particular attention at the present stage to training children and young people in the extensive use of computers and work, in education and in daily life.

The answer may be found in the profoundly analytical introductory speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the National Party Conference: "The new and essential feature in the party's approach today is for problems of quality to be formulated and resolved in accordance with the action of objective laws and patterns in building developed socialism." The main law is the tempestuous development of the scientific and technical revolution, which, in turn, is inconceivable without modern computers.

Documents of strategic significance to our development were adopted after the National Party Conference: the BCP Central Committee Politburo resolution on the extensive utilization of computers in the national economy, the Council of Ministers decree on this question, the Institution of an Autonomous Programming Industry subsector and the creation of a specialized authority--the Program Products and Systems Corporation. On the one hand, all of this

created conditions for active assertion of young people in labor and creativity and, on the other, it has the mandate of the Komsomol to determine faster its position and specific obligations in this major undertaking.

At the National Conference with the aktiv of the scientific and technical associations and the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov said: "In contemporary Bulgaria nothing can be accomplished any longer without the extensive use of electronics, without electronization... Programs, programs and more programs! It is with this that we must infect the young generation above all."

Guided by this instruction, and with a feeling of deep conviction we submit to this Komsomol Central Committee plenum to formulate a specific Komsomol approach to this major social task and to earmark specific means so that we could make a significant contribution to the common efforts to resolve it.

What should characterize our approach?

First: training the young generation to work with computers and the use of computers in production, service and management automation is directly related to the class, to the revolutionary responsibility of youth today. It has its ideological, political, socioeconomic and moral-psychological importance in the life of every young person and every collective, and in the development of society as a whole.

That is why work in this area cannot be separated from the ideological and organizational-political life of the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations. It cannot be reduced exclusively to acquiring technical knowledge and skills.

Computer work is a qualitatively new phenomenon with significant social consequences in terms of improving the nature of labor and developing social and personal relations under socialism. The human mind and outlook must be prepared for such activities and shaped from a most tender age, for it is precisely today's children and boys and girls who will build the new society under the conditions of total information on all human activities, the conditions of a "computerized world."

Our ideological education work and Komsomol society must take on new assignments as a political guarantor.

Second: training the young generation for work with computers and their application is a mandatory feature of complete and full training and fulfillment of young people under present and future conditions.

Increasingly the concept of proper life training will be related to the ability of the individual to be on familiar terms with a computer and to use its possibilities in all activities. This ability is becoming a major feature of the level of education and standards of the individual and his professional competence.

The purpose of this task is to enrich and update our activities in the labor education of children and young people and their vocational guidance and

professional training. Our responsibility for the successful reorganization of education and for upgrading the training and skills of working youth becomes even greater. This is also a specific manifestation of the stipulation formulated at the National Party Conference of directing the TNTM movement toward quality problems.

It is also a question of something else of great importance: to prevent the development of limited, consumerist and individual concepts of life and work under the conditions of a computerized world. On the contrary, we must always capitalize the words work and collective. We must promote industriousness, organization, discipline, initiative, feeling of responsibility, self-control and self-exigency and the assumption of creative risk.

Third: the task we assume is exceptionally responsible, broad and difficult. It cannot be implemented by the Komsomol alone or by any other individual social organization, ministry or department.

We are convinced that in this major project we must rely on the state-public principle and that all of us must determine our specific place and contribution to this project.

The Bulgarian school and our higher educational institutions are the natural foundation for the process of involving children and young people with computers. Also important is the professional training activities to be organized by state and economic organs and the NTS [Scientific and Technical Union], with whom we have already signed protocol for joint work. We shall support fully the Ministry of Public Education and the other organs and organizations and will assist them with our specific possibilities in carrying out their assignments.

In turn, the Komsomol will do everything necessary to master in this new area as well our social position as representative of the party for work with young people and a representative of young people among society. Our societies and organizations must become the main organizers of all extracurricular, extrascholastic and nonworking time forms and activities in training young people and children to work with computers and to apply them in their practical work.

The question arises of coordinating the approach and activities of all social factors which are competent in this area and responsible for the successful outcome of the extensive work which lies ahead of us.

We are satisfied by the like-mindedness which we have already achieved on this basic problem with the Ministry of Public Education, the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, the Ministry of Machine Building, the Program Products and Systems Corporation and other sectorial ministries. We are encouraged by the availability of the necessary party and government documents thanks to which a streamlined state-social system, efficient on all levels, has been developed, on which we can rely both today and in the future. This applies to the state-social system of managing the DNTM movement. It is particularly valuable that this time-tested system has been

legally secured as well: it not only has its central, sectorial, okrug and obshtina organs, but with the TNTM clubs it also finds its mass support in all schools, VUZs, plants, APK [agroindustrial complexes] and institutes. The task now is for the TNTM movement to assume the new responsibility of training children and youngsters for work with computers and developing program products and systems.

This calls for updating the movement in such a way that problems related to electronics may be understood by all young men and women. Youth computer clubs must be developed on a mass basis as sections of TNTM clubs.

Comrades:

We are holding today's plenum on the basis of a clarified approach and some initial experience. The programs for Komsomol sponsorship of microelectronics, robotics and robot application, the development of biotechnologies and computer training and application in automation are a specific manifestation of this approach approved by the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau. Such programs are being successfully implemented.

We clearly realize that this is a new approach not as yet traditional in terms of our work. However, we are guided by the conviction that laying our joint work with the respective economic organizations on a strong economically substantiated foundation is a guarantee for the mass involvement of young people in the development of the strategic directions and a guarantee for their faster training and upbringing.

With the organization of the "Vanguard" Society, we are implementing the party's instruction of making extensive use of the new economic approach in all activities and creating essentially new, flexible and dynamic forms of application of scientific and technical accomplishments and for conquering a "no-man's land."

We are pleased to note that this new approach is being adopted and asserted within our union.

Our task now is to develop in schools, VUZs, youth and Pioneer clubs, stations for young technicians and agrobiologists within economic organizations and in all rayons, obshtinas and okrugs specialized youth computer clubs through which we shall encourage the mass training of Bulgarian young people in problems of programming, work with computers, the creation and utilization of information methods and products and the application of systems and practical support programs. The basic principle in the organization of their activities is to ensure the unhindered and free access to the material and technical facilities of the clubs for anyone wishing to participate in their work, such as children and boys and girls, without any financial, membership or other preliminary conditions for such participation.

It is particularly important to ensure the proper methodical guidance of such club activities together with the public education authorities, the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, the NTS, ministries and departments. The initial positive steps in this area are the specialized periodical

KOMPYUTURUT ZA VAS, the series of books and training aids for the various detachments and age groups of children and young people; and the competition for creating and adapting program products for the Pravets personal computer, as a result of which more than 400 requests have been filed.

The main work, however, lies ahead.

How shall we proceed henceforth, which will be the main trends followed in our organizational-political work in converting training for work with computers into the vocation of all young people and the application of computers in production, services and management into a youth project?

Our further specific work must be consistent with the approach we have chosen. This gives priority to ideological-political work by societies and organizations and Pioneer detachments and units.

The study of Marxist-Leninist theory, BCP policy and the laws governing the building of a developed socialist society must become the natural and most reliable foundation on the basis of which the young generation will establish its attitude toward the scientific and technical revolution and, more specifically, the development of electronics, computer work and creation of program products.

Our political school year, political education, current political and ideological information, mass political work and the Komsomol's organizational-political life must assume responsibility to make everyone aware of the class nature of our assignment. We must fire up the young people for a new revolutionary project!

We shall continue to concentrate on labor upbringing, vocational guidance and training. The immediate task of the "Worthy Sons of the Class" movement is to update and enrich its content by training students to work with computers.

In order to resolve this important problem we must extensively assert and apply a political approach in shaping in the young people an active life stance. It is particularly important in the complex process of social intercourse and application of computers to display vigilance in terms of the spiritual health and harmonious development of the youth.

The requirements of the mass training of children and young people for work with computers and the creation of program products demand the accelerated solution of several important problems:

The first range of problems involves building the necessary material and technical foundations for computer training of children and young people.

First. The current task of the okrug, obshtina, rayon, plant, VUZ and student Komsomol society committees is to review the entire existing suitable base and to study its utilization in training children and young people. Considerable opportunities in this respect exist in the okrug territorial computer centers, the plants and institutes of economic organizations within the system of the Instrument-Making and Automation DPO [State Production Trust],

IZOT, Resprom and other trusts, the scientific institutes, the VUZs and, above all, the currently established facilities in the schools. The Komsomol committees must create such an organization that after work or school the facilities may be used most efficiently by our computer clubs in upgrading the skills of young specialists and workers and training the growing generation in computer work.

New material prerequisites are needed to ensure the extensive penetration and unhindered access of computers in the life of the young generation--in games, studies, jobs, homes and leisure time. The study of this problem should be undertaken soon and a suggestion for its resolution should be submitted to the respective managements.

Second. The Komsomol committees on all levels must engage in specific activities to develop a new or to adapt existing computer training facilities in order develop the necessary material and technical base of the computer clubs.

The Komsomol Central Committee assigned to a collective of planners and designers the creation of a sample model for a computer club. The model is ready. We must seek the material health of okrug and obshtina people's councils and economic organizations and their subunits in acquiring the necessary material and technical facilities, equipment and program support for the normal functioning of the clubs. The Komsomol Central Committee will provide the necessary Pravets and IZOT computers for training as well as the programs but only after the standard plans have been implemented.

Third. In order to ensure the earliest possible involvement of children in a dialogue with computers, we must direct the efforts of our youth creative collectives. We must interest the economic production organizations, scientific research institutes and higher educational establishments in developing microcomputer systems which could tell stories, draw, compose music, provide entertaining logic games and, in the final account, prepare the children for a computerized world.

We are confident that the efforts of the Central Committee in this respect will be supported most energetically by the economic producing organizations and the Ministry of Public Education.

We clearly realize that we cannot speak of a second, a "computer literacy" without resolving the problem of preparing the children's mind for it--the problem of children electronic toys and games.

We expect of the Komsomol committees on all levels, the TNM clubs, the circles and all those who love children to submit suggestions, ideas and specific solutions which, with the help of the "Vanguard" Society, will be applied. We particularly note in this respect on university students and postgraduates who are being trained in the fraternal socialist countries and in other developed states.



We have assigned to the "Vanguard" Society and are already ready to develop minor facilities for the production of contemporary electronic sets, games and aids for children.

Fourth: we know that in developing the "second literacy" not only our schools or extracurricular work but the family and a home will also play a decisive role. This cannot be achieved without the development and production of a home computer. That is why the task of the young people at the Technical Cybernetics and Robotics Institute, the Lenin VMEI, the Instrument Manufacturing and DSO and others must not only accelerate the production of the eight-byte Pravets-D home computer but also develop and apply the 16- and 32-byte microprocessors. Furthermore, the most important task of these organizations is, with the assistance of the TNTM management center and the "Vanguard" Society to create on a priority basis a model for a portable home computer of small dimensions and weight, battery-fed, suitable for use even in traveling, tourism and recreation.

For understandable reasons, today we are not discussing in detail the problems of the Komsomol, the youth participation in production. Nor are we extensively discussing the tasks of the youth labor collectives. Our obligations in these areas were assumed at the 4th Komsomol Central Committee Plenum and immediately after the National Party Conference. We would like to emphasize, however, that it is precisely such responsibilities and our further persistent work which are the main features. It is they which will determine our contribution to nationwide struggle for gaining new technological and market positions for our country among the other CEMA members and other countries.

Fifth. The optimal functioning of the specialized youth computer clubs and the efficient utilization of available material and technical facilities would be impossible without proper services. It is our understanding that such activities are especially important at the beginning, when we still encounter problems with elements and structures.

In this respect what we need most is the support of the producing economic organizations in giving priority to spare parts for school bases and VUZs and youth computer clubs. That is why we are prepared, through our "Vanguard" Society, to initial respective contracts with the Instrument Manufacturing and Automation DSO and the Izot DSO.

We are addressing ourselves to the competent authorities, scientific research institutes and producing economic organizations and, above all, the Ministry of Machine Building with the request for the developed new models and generations of electronic and computer equipment to be supplied on a priority basis to kindergartens, schools, VUZs and our computer clubs and wherever Bulgarian young people are studying, working and creating, so that the development of the material and technical training base may follow closely behind the pace of development of the scientific and technical revolution.

Today it is also important to emphasize that the creation and functioning of the material and technical base is still not the only guarantee for the successful implementation of our assignments.

We must steadily work for the true conversion of the Komsomol committee, society or primary collective into the managers of such bases. We must develop in our cadres, activities and members of our union the understanding that this is our base, that this is the technology which is training us for our future. Under the conditions of the youth union and the Pioneer organization, this is directly related to the concept of the "owner" and "manager" of socialist property. This also is the path leading to the assertion of the Komsomol society as the center for meeting the interests and needs of young people and the political guarantor of its comprehensive involvement with scientific and technical progress.

Comrades:

We know that however perfect the equipment we use may be and however perfect the algorithms and programs on the basis of which it operates, it is the person who is of decisive importance. This involves the second range of problems which appear in the implementation of the program: cadre support and training; the skill and development of cadres and the creation of the necessary training aids, method materials and specialized publications on computer-related problems.

Whereas results have already been achieved in the first question of the material and technical base, so far virtually nothing has been done to resolve these problems.

That is why today our efforts must be directed toward the following:

Ensuring for all Komsomol organizations the availability of qualified specialists and organizers of activities in computer offices; and in computer clubs, by recruiting young specialists and scientific workers as instructors for the scientific and technical training of working and student youth;

Mastering by all managers of circles, young educators in particular, of the skill to use computers in the training process.

We submit the following to the competent and interested authorities:

First: to give Komsomol committees to hire for the computer clubs, either on a paid or voluntary basis, according to the bylaws of the club, specialists who, after proper training, would assume the methodical and organizational management of club activities. Furthermore, with the help of dynamic and active collectives, they would undertake the development of research and applied topics for training with computers and their use in automation. We consider that electronic engineers, mathematicians, physicists, psychologists, educators and others should be recruited for such positions.

Second: create opportunities for the training and retraining of cadres who would manage instruction in schools, VUZs and our clubs throughout the country. We consider that the Ministry of Public Education and its scientific and qualification units and the Program Services and Systems Corporation should create the necessary facilities, such as courses, programs, methods

and training aids for such purposes. The Komsomol Central Committee has already assigned such tasks to the Central Komsomol School.

Third: suggest to the competent authorities that the training, retraining and instruction of some of these cadres to be organized in CEMA member countries with experience and traditions in this area. To this effect we suggest to the Ministry of Public Education, the Ministry of Finance and the State Committee for Planning, in coordination with the Komsomol Central Committee, to provide the necessary funds for assignments to such countries as well as suitable organization conditions.

Fourth: to make use of the opportunities for the training and retraining of cadres through UNESCO, with the help of short courses, specialization assignments and others. That is why we suggest to the Ministry of Public Education and the Banner of Peace Center, through the National UNESCO Commission, every year and by suggestion of the Komsomol Central Committee to assign for such training the best managers of our computer clubs. Other possibilities and forms of training and qualification in countries advanced in this area should be sought. To this effect, in accordance with the procedure we indicated, the necessary foreign exchange for nonsocialist countries to be allocated.

Fifth: there is an acute shortage of training aids and method materials and literature for schools and VUZs and, above all, extracurricular training.

The Komsomol Central Committee organized creative collectives with representatives of the Ministry of Public Education, economic producing organizations, scientific institutes, the Central Station of Young Technicians and Agrobiologists and other noted scientists and educators to draft training aids and methodical instructions and aids for training children of preschool age, Pioneers, secondary school students, university students, young scientific workers, engineers and workers and farm workers to work in computer clubs with computers and programs.

We link professional training and the growth and comprehensive realization of youth potential with the implementation of another responsible assignment set by the National Party Conference: to increase our direct youth contribution to the development and application of program products in training, in the creation of modern technologies and new materials and in production, service and management automation.

Today the okrug, obshtina, rayon, plant, VUZ and secondary school committees face the task of organizing creative youth collectives for designing, developing and applying program products. The youth potential must be directed not toward the creation of program products in general but the creation of program products of applied nature. This must be taken into consideration in the elaboration of plans and programs for the work of TNTM clubs. This should also be the purpose in our cooperation with economic organizations. It would be suitable for their plans to include and provide support for a special "program products" department, closely related to the activities of the respective production enterprise, school or scientific unit.

It is already clear that program support is in the hands of specialists and labor collectives of consumers in all areas and sectors in metallurgy and chemistry, education, tourism, trade and other services and cannot be created only by the economic organizations producing computer equipment. That is why our main attention must be focused precisely on this point: on program products and systems developed by specialists with different skills and covering all areas of social life!

We also wish clearly to formulate another task: all classes in mathematics and high schools, higher educational institutions, scientific research institutes and economic organizations to become "youth software houses" mainly through the specialized youth computer clubs!

Comrades:

Every one of you has been issued a program for Komsomol sponsorship of training in work with computers and their application in production, service and management automation, which we submit for approval by this plenum.

What is characteristic of this program?

It is aimed at all young people and lists the specific responsibilities of the individual units and young people. It combines in a state of dialectical unity the interests of the young people and the needs of our social development.

This is a long-term program whose stages cover the present and the next five-year plan. The first stage (through the end of 1985) will be essentially preparatory. It will provide the necessary organizational, mass political, material and technical and social prerequisites for the extensive and active involvement of young men and women in the study and work with computers and their production and program support.

Our main objective during the second stage (1986-1990) will be to continue with the development of the overall training and creative manifestation system on the basis of already established facilities and conditions.

The purpose of this program will be to rally the efforts of all factors for the prompt and qualitative solution of the problems we have set ourselves.

This will be an open program which, in the course of its implementation, will be supplemented, concretized and enriched in accordance with the new requirements and results. This will enhance the responsibilities of Komsomol societies and primary organizations.

In this case our approach on all levels must be consistent with the age group characteristics and specific professional tasks of the various youth groups.

This means the following:

In the case of preschool-age children and through the third and fourth grades, using games, to develop an interest and a feeling for communicating

with computers. To this effect areas with electronic and automated games and "entertainment science and technology" areas must be created in the kindergartens, equipped with personal computers and other suitable facilities, which may become a center of attraction, amusement and training.

For Pioneers and secondary school students: using the specific Pioneer and Komsomol organizational methods, to convert from initial knowledge and skills to broad specialized training of young people in the areas of informatics, programming and computer use.

The broad tasks which we are discussing today require the reorganization of our overall organizational and political work in school and in extracurricular activities, so that after completing their secondary education all young men and women will be familiar with computers and programming.

At the same time student and VUZ Komsomol organizations and societies will emphasize the need for purposeful explanatory work for the professional orientation of young men and women toward skills related to the production and application of computers; in the next few years university students studying related technical skills may even be reoriented toward such subjects.

Among university students and young specialists and scientific workers priority will be given to the need to improve and steadily to enhance their scientific training and full utilization of flexible computer complexes in the automation of technological processes and management and in designing and scientific research.

We must develop even more energetically international youth scientific and technical cooperation, direct it toward problems of informatics and enhancing the level of such methods. We hope that in this respect we shall be helped by the organization of the first world exhibition by young inventors, which will take place in 1985.

The central and okrug, obshtina and many plant Komsomol committees face the responsible task of enhancing, jointly with state and economic organs and organizations, the professional training and skills of the young workers and specialists directly involved in the creation, production and use of computers.

Today we also issue responsible assignments to youth mass information media. They must not only reflect problems but create a suitable social atmosphere and fulfill their organizational and incentive functions among young people.

Bulgarian television and radio, their youth editors above all, play a major role.

Comrades:

The tasks set by our party and the tasks we undertake to fulfill today require decisive improvements in our organizational work and a new type of revolutionary thinking and action.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov says, "Today we need revolutionary thinking, consistent with the new situation and the new responsibilities." As we have emphasized in the past, this is not a slogan, not an appeal. It is an urgent need, a mandatory feature in the aspect of today's and tomorrow's generations and of every young person.

We now must practically reorganize our work and give priority to overall political and educational work in the Komsomol society, the youth brigade and the primary collective.

The tasks set by the BCP for the development of a strategic area such as electronics should become part and parcel of the Dimitrov Komsomol and the thousands-strong army of Bulgarian Pioneer and Komsomol members, young men and women. Success in this great project greatly depend also on the high professional competence, the training, efficiency and initiative of all Komsomol cadres and activists and the reputation of our youth leaders.

For this reason the leadership of the Central Komsomol school must organize in the immediate future the specialized training of all Komsomol cadres and activists in the area of computers and computer programming.

The Komsomol committees on all levels must take practical steps to apply microcomputer equipment in Komsomol activities. The new developments must be reflected in the planning and organization of the Komsomol school year.

The full cycle of Komsomol accountability and election meetings, which is now starting, offers a particularly adequate opportunity for reaching every young man and women, Komsomol society, primary collective and Komsomol organization.

As of now, prior to the initiation of the accountability and election campaign, we must update the work plans of TNM councils on all levels in the spirit of the tasks which proceed from the present plenum.

We emphasize that the okrug Komsomol committee bureaus and the first secretaries personally are mainly responsible for the overall work aimed at resolving such problems.

Comrades:

Someone may think that many of the problems which we raise here are not the Komsomol's concern. Some may think that we are enthusiastically diving into the sea without realizing how deep the water is. Other doubts and mistrust may come up.

In our view, however, the most important thing is that we are beginning something new and significant today. We are beginning it with a feeling of responsibility and understanding of its complexity but also with a great deal of daring and faith in our forces and in the support and unity of action of all competent state, economic and social factors.

The young generation of our homeland has always been involved in the great and responsible projects of its nation. Unquestionably, on this occasion as

well the Dimitrov Komsomol will march in the front ranks of the struggle for mastering computers and their effective application in production, service and management automation. We assume this great responsibility based on the trust and concern of the party and the entire society.

This is because we have a militant and organized youth union with rich traditions and new experience. We have Bulgarian young people loyal to the April cause of our party, educated, skilled and ready actively to participate in building mature socialism.

Study and work, optimism and daring. The homeland has faith in us and relies on us.

5003

CSO: 2200/7

ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTION MEETINGS ANNOUNCED, ROLE DISCUSSED

Holding of Accountability-Election Meetings

Sofia PARTIEN ZHIVOT in Bulgarian No 12, Aug 84 pp 3, 4

[Decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee]

[Text] The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee finds it advisable to hold the accountability-election meetings of the primary party organizations from 1 November 1984 to 30 January 1985. These are to be preceded by accountability-election meetings of the party organizations which are part of the primary organizations and party groups.

The accountability-election meetings will be held in a situation of a nationwide mobilization to carry out the historic decisions of the 12th Party Congress and in a situation of close solidarity of the workers with the Leninist April line. The BCP, its organizations and members as well as our people are rightly proud of the results achieved during the 40-year socialist development of the nation. At present, at the center of their attention are the problems involved in the practical implementation of the new theoretical concepts and approaches worked out by Comrade Todor Zhivkov as well as the decisions of the National Party Conference concerning a decisive improvement in quality.

The holding of the accountability-election meetings must be turned into an important stage in the struggle to further carry out the decisions of the 12th Party Congress, for strengthening the party ranks, for the development of intra-party democracy, for improving the organizational and ideological work of the primary party organizations and for enriching the forms, methods and approaches of party leadership in the labor collectives.

At the center of attention of the meetings are to be the activities of the primary party organizations and their bureaus in the area of carrying out the socioeconomic tasks posed by the 12th Congress, the national party conference and the ideas of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. The main thing is to make a profound and self-critical analysis of the work done to actually implement the policy of intensification in the economy and other spheres, to introduce the achievements of scientific-technical progress and Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience, to consistently apply the new economic mechanism and to further develop the socialist competition for the early fulfillment of the counterplans.



The meetings are to thoroughly analyze the work of the party organizations in implementing the main intraparty task defined by the 12th Party Congress. They are to discuss the conformity of the organizational and ideological work carried out by the party organizations to today's demands and requirements, their role in accurately fulfilling the decisions, for eliminating weaknesses and shortcomings, for improving the style and methods of activities by the cadres and for raising responsibility and discipline everywhere and in everything.

The meetings are to adopt resolutions for raising the level of work done by the primary party organizations in the labor collectives and for their further mobilizing in the struggle to completely carry out the party congress decisions concerning the socioeconomic and cultural development of the nation. They must define the tasks in further establishing the party organizations as the leading political nuclei in the labor collectives and as the prototype of their future state, for strengthening their role as the party representatives in the collective and as the representatives of the collective in the party, for improving intraparty relations and establishing the organizations as a support of its members in their desire to honorably fulfill their obligations.

The okrug, obshtina, rayon and city BCP committees, in conducting the accountability-election meetings, are to ensure a situation of strict observance of the Leninist standards of party life, high exactingness, principledness, criticism and self-criticism.

The newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO is publishing an editorial concerning the goals and tasks of the accountability-election meetings and the journal PARTIEN ZHIVOT is printing procedural materials to help prepare for the meetings. The mass information media are to report on the course and results of the meetings, in widely popularizing the established positive experience in party activities.

#### Role, Functions of Accountability-Election Meetings

Sofia PARTIEN ZHIVOT in Bulgarian No 12, Aug 84 pp 5-19

[Unattributed article: "Qualitative Analysis and Political Assessment"]

[Text] With Innovative Thought and Revolutionary Action

The Decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee on the holding of the accountability-election meetings outlines the basic problems which are at the center of party work over the year. Among them is the key problem of methodological significance for the subjective factor, that is, the mastery, analysis and application of the new theoretical concepts and practical approaches worked out at the 12th Congress and in the post-congress works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The range of new ideas provides the cadres with exceptionally great opportunities for revolutionary changes in all areas. When mastered and analyzed, they give rise to forces and abilities for innovative thinking and revolutionary actions. For this reason, the tasks which social development has posed on the agenda require a new method of thought, the ability to find innovative decisions and approaches to the problems of both the standard of living, the economy and production, science and the training of the personnel.

An accountability-election meeting will be a demanding check on the organization's approach to the carrying out of the tasks posed by the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference. A critical and demanding check and political assessment of what measures have been taken, bold or half-hearted, what results have been achieved, significant or only part-way. Has the essential decisive turn been made in the thinking and actions of the leaders, specialists and workers? Is there a contradiction between the enormous opportunities for theoretical ideas and practical approaches, on the one hand, and their insufficient assimilation, analysis and application, on the other? How does the bureau think, what are the communists thinking, are they satisfied with what has been achieved up to now? What innovative decisions will they report or will they be satisfied with partial "cosmetic" improvements and changes? A change has not been achieved in the quality of labor and the products from it using the old approach. There must be people with creative ideas, competent, bold and professional. People with innovative thinking, with revolutionary boldness, capable of attacking daring goals and taking a risk.

On these questions a tone of implacability and impatience will be set particularly for those cadres and specialists who always raise their hand and vote for the new, but never raise a hand against their own obsolete way of thought and action.

Analysis and assessment, based on deeds and not on empty declarations and promises, must clearly set out the positions, that is, who has set what goal, a high or average one, what has been the approach to it, when will it be achieved and who is still reflecting and taking their time, who has not found his place in the struggle for high quality and high labor productivity.

Such an analytical assessment presupposes an objective, critical view of oneself, of the style of work, and a critical reflection on the contribution and position which each holds. In order to modernize production, the basis of life, in the future we must also modernize ourselves.

An example of an innovative political approach must be set by the party meeting in the bureau report, the statements of the communists and the entire situation accompanying this process of renewal.

The organization itself will decide under what form the individual check before the meeting will be organized and encouraged, as a foregoing discussion of the political role of the communist in the period between the two congresses or at the meetings of the party groups.

The main thing is that any political initiative preceding or accompanying the accountability-election meeting bring about not only a mobilizing of the communists and workers in the collective for rhythmically and effectively carrying out the counterplan, but also provide a profound reassessment of their vision, thoughts and actions and the rearming of them with the ideas and approaches which are to be found in the speeches, reports and lectures of Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the 12th Congress.

#### Criteria for Assessing the Socioeconomic Results

An accountability-election meeting will analyze and assess party work in the area of carrying out the socioeconomic goals, tasks and indicators in the collective's counterplan.

These activities are concretized and planned in plans and decisions. They are the leading motive in the efforts and the work of the bureau and the communists. These activities have also brought about definite results which at the meeting will be examined and assessed from political positions.

The efforts of numerous factors have been put into the practical results from carrying out the socioeconomic tasks and among these the bureau will bring out and report on the leading role of the party leadership. An analysis of the facts (economic, social and spiritual) must disclose the effectiveness of party efforts during the year. The end results of fulfilling the counterplan, high labor productivity, improved quality and reduced costs of products and services are not an end in themselves but rather a decisive means for satisfying the constantly growing material, spiritual and social needs of the people.

What generalizations, assessments and conclusions derive from a political analysis of the newly created material and spiritual product? To what degree are the socioeconomic results the natural consequence of high political and labor activity and motivated by realized social interests? To what degree are these results the expression of a realized social and international responsibility of the collective for building mature socialism? In what manner and to what degree are the achieved results reflected in the increased social concern for man and the collective and through them conversely influence socialist awareness and labor activity? How has the party organization carried out and converted social policy into the driving force for intensifying production and the social development of the collective? Have the dynamics of needs been considered? In what manner and with what party means has the organization directed and encouraged the need for creative labor and along with these broadened and increased the opportunities and abilities of the people for a qualitative change everywhere and in everything?

Political thought flows simultaneously in two directions of analysis: to what degree through the cares of the bureau and organization for public interests has concern for man been shown and by concern for man has thought been given to the progress of the collective and society?

The political discussion should be based on an economic analysis of the fulfillment of the plan's qualitative and volume indicators but cannot be reduced or exhausted by this alone, as has been done in many places up to now. The human factor will also be assessed in an economic analysis of the processes and results, because this creates the goods through which the party organization exercises its role of a political leader.

The economic results from the fulfillment of the counterplan can and must be viewed as embodied innovative thought and action of the labor collectives and the leadership. This goal will be realized if the bureau takes into account:

a) What party efforts have been made during the report period to establish the labor collective as the master of the public assets entrusted to it? To what degree is it engaged and involved in working out and approving the counterplan; does it fully exercise the rights and responsibilities given it to determine in what manner the counterplan will be fulfilled, to take measures against the violators of labor discipline, to exercise the right of social control with

impatience and exactingness, to choose its own leaders, to participate in the distribution of income according to the quantity and quality of the invested labor and so forth?

b) What party concern has been shown and what conditions have been created for confirming the economic leaders in the role of the fully empowered representatives of the state and of the owner of socialist property and as representatives of the labor collective in its relations with other bodies and organizations? Have personal, collective and social interests been successfully reconciled? Are the requirements of the economic approach and its mechanism being observed, how do these relate to the labor collectives, are their rights and interests being taken into account, are their problems being resolved and with what economic and political means are the creative initiatives being encouraged related to the efficient use of the means and subjects of labor and live labor?

The causal relationship between socioeconomic activeness, the effectiveness of the collective's labor and the specific ideological, political and organizational effect of the organization will be analyzed. In certain reports, positive results of party activities have been flippantly ordered. An incorrect mechanical relationship has been established which harms and distorts the truth and demobilizes.

In such a sequence of analysis the ties and dependences will be traced between the reshaping of thought and actions and their reflection on the quality of party work and leadership and from this on the quality of the product and all activities. From an analysis of this chain of dependences, assessments will be drawn of how in practice the party organization is carrying out the decisions of the National Party Conference, what measures have been taken and what changes have occurred. An assessment will be made of the known scheme of analysis and evaluation containing sound generalizations of the problems and results. A lean ranking of the known weaknesses and shortcomings for which individual responsibility will not be sought. Such a scheme of analysis leads to half-truths, particularly for unsolved problems. It does not provide a mobilizing for the necessary changes and does not lead to an offensive along the entire front of the primary organization. It does not give rise to a readiness for decisive breakthroughs in the basic areas which are characteristic for the collective.

At present, we must have a completely definite answer, a political assessment of the position which everyone has assumed in the struggle for high quality.

What responsibility has the party organization and the communists assumed to the future, and in what energetic deeds will this be expressed?

The quality criteria for an analysis and assessment of party work demand that the center of attention be shifted from statements and from the report of the past to what must be done in the future. Collective thought must seek the crucial link in the chain of tasks where the party organization will focus the forces of the communists for a decisive breakthrough. This will be an indication of a major change toward professionalism and a higher step in the development of the guiding and transforming possibilities of the primary organization under the conditions of ubiquitous intensification.

## A Comparison With the Leading Examples

In the analysis and assessment of the party leadership of the collective and the internal life of the organization, a new quality measurement, a comparison with the best models, will be introduced and applied.

In his speech at the National Conference of the Aktiv in Varna, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed to subjectivism in the assessment of labor of goods and services as the essential reason for the unsatisfactory quality level. An assessment which is not based on a comparison with the indicators of the best models distorts how we conceive of quality which we ourselves are creating. The inertia of the quantitative approach to assessing our own labor leads us to underestimate the objective need for comparisons with the best models and with leading world experience. We do not trouble ourselves with comparative estimates of the consumers concerning the created material and spiritual goods.

But a realistic notion of their quality will be gained through comparisons with the leading models and with the responses and acceptance of the market. A comparison of the results with the best models in material and spiritual production provides information for analysis and a quality assessment. From the comparisons derive conclusions about to what degree we lag behind the best models. We should discuss at what pace we must advance toward these, when and how we will attain and reproduce them, and when we ourselves will set the models. We must compare the estimates of two aspects of the process: of the collective for the quality of the results of its labor and the opinions of the consumer for whom they are destined and see where we have succeeded and where we have failed. We will reach conclusions and advice both for the collective and for the leading political core.

A comparison of the achieved results with their projections in goals and aims, a comparison of the real effect with the invested forces and money will help the bureau to determine its contribution and the contribution of the communists and disclose the new tasks of the organization as the generator and political accelerator of the nationwide movement toward the peaks of scientific and technical progress. They will help each individual person to find his place in the struggle for carrying out the new tasks. The estimates based on an analysis and comparison with the best models require that the bureaus provide a definite answer for the following:

- a) With what model is the collective comparing the quality of its labor and product? What has been undertaken by the communists--the leaders and the specialists--to investigate, assimilate and reproduce the model?
- b) Does the collective know how the consumers view the quality of the values created by it, does it possess information about public opinion and how has it responded to new demands? What has been done in this regard by the party organization?

Using the method of analysis and comparison we will obtain a more realistic notion of the state, role and effectiveness of our party organization as the leading political nucleus and prototype of the future state of the collective. We

will gain estimates and conclusions on how it has mastered and fulfilled the roles as the representative of the party and the collective, as a collective support in the development of the communists and as a model of socialist social relations.

We will compare the general conclusions with the requirements of the ideological model and prototype of the primary organization as outlined by the 12th Congress for the period of mature socialism and see to what degree it has progressed in its development, what distance separates the organization from the goal and what changes are required in order to create and reproduce the model in our own life, role and functions.

The judgments will be supplemented by a number of comparisons:

In what way the primary party organization has reproduced the quality characteristics of the party's representative and the labor collective. How has it reflected and realized these two essential aspects of the model?

We must have the following very important answers:

What has been done and what have been the changes--quantitatively and qualitatively and have the ties grown richer and deeper between the party organization and the people of the collective? Through these ties occur the two-way influence of the party on the collective and, conversely, from it to the party.

By what means has the party organization carried out the role of the party's representative in the collective? Which of these forms are effective and which are out of date, which of those will be confirmed and employed and which of those will fall behind and be replaced? In the system of ties at present, are the greatest reserves for the qualitative transformations of the leading role and organizing might of the primary organization as the party's representative in the collective.

Naturally the conclusions will be founded on assessment of the basic problem, that is, how effectively the party organization has represented the socio-economic policy of the party and how energetically (in accord with an analysis of the results) has it fought to carry out this policy by fulfilling the socio-economic tasks in the counterplan.

The quality of the ties, the strength of political influence and the authority of the primary organization depend lastly upon its real ability to reflect, to resolve and defend the immediate interests, moods, concerns and proposals of the working people. For this reason, this second essential aspect as a representative of the collective in the party, and as the equal of the first, will require a thorough analysis and evaluation from the standpoint of the 12th Congress, that is, what concern for man as a distinguishing feature of the party has been turned into a distinguishing feature of this basic cell, too.

Of essential importance is the conclusion of whether or not the bureau and the communists know what the people of the collective think of them, to what degree they are trusted, whether they have the authority of a generally-recognized prototype which the people are endeavoring to emulate and incorporate in themselves? The internal party development establishes the primary party

organization as a constant collective support of the communists and raises to a new height the role and importance of the relations between the party member and the party collective.

The accountability-election meetings must make an analysis and assessment of the efforts made by the bureau in the main areas in which the role of the party organization is realized as the collective support of the communists.

One of these encompasses the concern for the all-round training and skills of the communists. What has been done to promptly disclose the contradiction between the qualitatively new tasks, on the one hand, and the training level and professional competence of the communists to resolve them, on the other; what is the effectiveness of the employed initiatives, forms and means of work for resolving this contradiction, including: party assignments, evaluations, certifications, the reports of the administrative-economic leaders on the measures taken related to the skills of the cadres and so forth.

Of particular importance for the development of the primary party organization as the support of the communists are the forms of support and encouragement for enterprising and creative individuals, those who endeavor to think and act in a revolutionary manner and who take a creative risk. The bureaus will report and the accountability-election meetings will assess what has been done and what has been achieved during the year in this area. In what manner the organization has supported and encouraged the individual communist when he has sought a reply or has participated in the resolving of questions which concern himself, his comrades or the working people. How has it encouraged, supported and defended bold, enterprising discoverers of ideas and inventions, the seekers of the new and the trodders of unknown paths?

The work involving the all-round development of the political and labor activity of the communists will also be examined. The reason for this is that passive membership in the organization is irreconcilable with the By-Laws. At the meetings there will be a sharp but principled discussion of the forms of passivity, particularly now when the party organization is seeking the best solutions to new problems and is providing conditions for creative discussions and for a clash of opinions in debating the nonstandard problems and situations. What has been done and what remains to be done? They will evaluate the quality and effectiveness of the forms and means used for individual work, including the forms of public defense of personal creative plans and personal pages for the files of the communists. The meetings will also have their say on how the bureau has fostered internal party democracy not only in the discussion and resolving of problems but also in carrying them out.

The role of the support of the communists demands that the primary organization show high and principled exactingness for the strict observance of the By-Law rules and obligations for all communists, regardless of their rank and the position they hold. Are the means for indoctrination and organized action effectively used? Special attention should be given to party control over the way of life, to behavior outside of the labor sphere where self-control is the regulator of the moral standpoint.

Using the method of comparison and generalization, the bureau will draw up and propose to the meeting a sound survey and assessment to what degree the internal party life of the primary organization approaches the requirements of a model of socialist social relations. In this regard, precise comparisons will be required between the fundamental requirements of internal party relations such as: high ideological loyalty, organization, collectiveness and principledness in relationships, comradeship and mutual aid, creativity and militancy, criticism and self-criticism, responsibility and discipline, a comparison of the quality features and traits of the model with the real values of the existing relations in the primary organization. With the help of comparative analysis, political conclusions will be drawn on the necessary changes which will reproduce the model.

There will be a discussion and decision of in what manner the quality features of internal party relations will invade, be transferred and reproduced in the activities of the labor collective, in the life and activities of the public bodies and organizations.

On the basis of the conclusions from these comparisons and generalizations, specific tasks will be set for the internal party factors which determine the quality level of party work and leadership. These include: improving the qualitative composition and the fuller utilization of its greater possibilities; how the leadership and transforming possibilities in the collective principals of party activities are being increased including the groups and organizations within the primary ones; how are the inexhaustible reserves of the basic forms of work and the chief means of internal party life being utilized including planning, the organization of fulfillment, control and evaluation of the results.

#### Comprehensive Analysis of Ideological Indoctrination

An objective assessment of ideological indoctrination which will be made by the accountability-election meetings must provide a clear answer to the following: how and to what degree the ideological content of party policy has permeated the approaches, decisions and efforts to carry out the tasks in each collective. This cannot be done with simple statistical reports on the measures carried out or by ascribing "ideological" reasons to the achieving of high production results. Here, like for all other activities, analysis and evaluation will be based upon the criteria of the quality and effectiveness of the ideological work itself. Does it meet the requirements of life, is it linked to it and primarily to the key problems and tasks which the entire party and all the people are carrying out and what are their specific dimensions in the respective party organization and labor collective.

A new, specific and primary factor in assessing ideological indoctrination during the report period is its profound reflection in the orientation of the communists to take an active creative part in the struggle to improve the quality of all social activities and particularly products, labor and discipline.

Under present-day conditions, the qualitative measurements are the most important for the activities of each communist and worker and for the entire collective. The higher the quality of the product which the collective or individual



worker is producing, the more effective their labor. The increased demands on the ideological indoctrination of the party organization are also related to this as through its diverse forms and means it encourages everyone to resolve the quality problems. From this standpoint the meeting will discuss and draw conclusions on the following: To what degree the communists have been the initiators of ideas and the creators of new models and how they respond to those who violate production requirements and produce bad quality products? What effect do they have by their example? How does ideological work disclose in the party tenets and decisions the basic needs and interests of the people? Has it been able to promote them and establish them in the awareness of the members of the collective as incentives and motives for conduct and for action? How has this work contributed to the actual realization of the principle of the unity of rights and obligations for the working man? From an analysis of ideological indoctrination, we will see whether it has mobilized the internal spiritual forces of the people and created the necessary political and moral situation for introducing new technologies into the production processes and for furthering the innovator movement; has it fought successfully against routine and stagnation and skepticism in the sphere of technical progress, and against all of those who are not concerned with introducing the innovations in science and technology or are the slave of old methods and technologies? In other words, an analysis will show whether or not a militant communist ideological position has been struck as well as dissatisfaction with the achieved and an unabating desire of each party member to lead the members of the labor collective to the highest peaks of scientific and technical progress.

An assessment of ideological indoctrination by a primary organization will be in harmony with the present-day criteria and tasks if it is carried out from a viewpoint of the results in establishing those essential traits and virtues among the communists and members of the labor collectives as: a strongly developed feeling of responsibility for the quality of the produced product, high labor, professional and production discipline, respect for the work hour and implacability against the wasting of working time, studiousness, the assimilation and application of the peak achievements of science and technology, a considerate attitude toward socialist property, the savings of fuel, raw products, materials and energy, initiative, creativity and efficiency and so forth.

The problems of ideological indoctrination will be viewed from the aspect of its direct link to the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and the turning of this into a world view, into the position of the communists and nonparty persons. The main thing in this instance is to provide a competent analysis of how the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory arms the communists and the members of the labor collectives not only with scientific knowledge but also aids in working out a socialist ideological and vital position as well as their communist indoctrination. To what degree this has helped to realize the dialectical leap, that is, from the object of the affect of indoctrination the communists and members of the collectives are turned into the principal of active social activity.

Another subject for discussion at the accountability-election meetings will be the work in the area of the class-party, patriotic and international indoctrination of the communists, the workers and the youth, for increasing their vigilance and implacability against bourgeois ideological subversion. The growing aggressiveness of the imperialist forces demands that we assess correctly and

precisely in what specific dimensions the communists and nonparty persons are ready for all testings which may appear and what is the political and psychological response in the collectives over the brutal actions of the Reagan administration. Definite conclusions can also be drawn on political work in relation to carrying out the international obligations in the area of economic and other forms of collaboration with the USSR and the other socialist countries. It will be advisable to analyze the role of the ideological work in the area of the moral indoctrination of the party and labor collective, for developing high communist moral virtues in each communist and worker, for establishing the socialist way of life and overcoming negative phenomena, particularly the manifestations of a consumer approach, Philistinism and so forth.

Comprehensiveness in an analysis and assessment of ideological indoctrination ultimately presupposes an answer to the following: has a real, practical address been found for its effect, is it deeply permeated with new ideas and concepts and with the tasks which each collective is carrying out and has it reached that concreteness, clarity and frankness in a dialogue with people without which it cannot fulfill, in the words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its mission of being a constant and powerful moral incentive and support for the initiative of people, for their implacability against weaknesses and shortcomings as well as their desire to make a more active contribution to labor and social work.

#### Dimensions of the Reform

The role of the mass organizations will be examined from the viewpoint of their contribution to carrying out the socioeconomic tasks and from the viewpoint of the efforts, concerns and help provided by the bureau and the communists to reorganize these into social guarantees. At the center of the party evaluation will be the relationship between the bureau and the leadership of the social organizations, between the communists and their members. We must overcome the erroneous approach of individual bureaus to account for and judge the activities of the social organizations and to overlook the main thing of providing them with help in understanding the rights and responsibilities of the social guarantees and for carrying out important directions of party strategy and policy.

Qualitative changes will be sought in party leadership and their actual reflection in the work of the mass organizations in actually carrying out their basic functions. The changes will be disclosed and assessed through the prism of a political approach and this means with the aid of qualitative criteria. It is not the quantity of discussed questions and decisions taken but rather their results, that is, what new forms of a two-way political dialogue between the leading political nucleus and the social guarantees are to be established and what traces will they leave? An assessment of their effectiveness, an assessment of the forms and methods by which the party organizations lead politically and an assessment of the means and forms by which the public organizations indoctrinate and mobilize.

The analysis will be complete if it brings out and critically assesses the vanguard role of the communists in the work of the leadership and in the life of the social organizations as representatives of the primary organization and as representatives of the workers.

The social organizations in the collectives work for general goals and tasks but using different methods and means. The primary organization unites, coordinates and directs the efforts. But very often on the basic questions each organization works for itself and divorced from the others. Layers of social activity accumulate relating to the same questions and the same people and these cancel each other out, they waste precious time and usually bring about results which are the reverse of those expected.

A political attitude is necessary, that is, what has been done and what has been changed for well reasoned, purposeful, professional sociopolitical activities. There must be a quality assessment of all types of activities!

The assimilation of the new social functions of social guarantees depends upon the pooling of efforts and upon the initiating of activities. But there has been the alienation of functions, duplication and rule by decree. For this reason, there will be a discussion and assessment of which forms of interaction further independence and responsibility and develop the independent nature of the social organizations and, consequently, will be established in the style of party work.

A Political Decision: For Transformations and for the Ways to Them

The debate on the bureau's report will conclude with a resolution, with a political decision of the supreme body, the accountability-election meeting, which is obligatory for all the members of the party organization. In it the meeting determines the political position of the organization, that is, what qualitative changes will be achieved and what means will be employed.

The declarative part of the resolution contains political judgments and conclusions on the work of the bureau and the communists, on the results of carrying out the decisions of the 12th Congress, the National Party Conference and the resolution of the previous accountability-election meeting. The draft resolution reflects the views of the bureau concerning its own work style and the political approach to carrying out the tasks. The draft is an analytical political self-assessment of the bureau, regardless that more persons with clear thinking, ideas and experience were involved in working it out.

After its discussion and approval by the meeting it becomes a collective assessment and political decision of the organization.

The focusing or directive part is an essential continuation of the conclusions from the first part. It outlines the problems, the aims and tasks for 1985, the carrying out of which will make it possible for the party organization to realize the decisions of the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference. The decisions outline the goals and the necessary and possible results. Real changes are planned and the forces and means by which these will be achieved are determined. Qualitative changes are planned everywhere and in everything.

In a portion of the resolutions the specific elaborations and goals of the work have been replaced by measures and special areas and by the means of future activity. Such resolutions are applied formally, without search and proposals and are of benefit to no one because they conceal the main thing of what

the communists want to achieve, how they will do this and what responsibility they are assuming. Resolutions which do not anticipate expected results cannot be made accessible to supervision and reporting.

The decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee provides a general guideline which each organization will creatively concretize in accord with the specific conditions and possibilities in its basic tasks.

#### Meetings of Party Groups

The annual accountability-election campaign begins with these meetings. They are a prerequisite for a high-quality level of the accountability-election meetings of the primary party organizations. This circumstance will be taken into account by the party committees and bureaus and by the persons responsible for the groups and they will pay more attention and concern to the preparation and holding of the accountability meetings.

What will be involved here?

In the first place. The 12th BCP Congress set the task of "strengthening party influence in all spheres of social life and not only in the crucial areas." Party influence will be provided by various ways, including: by strengthening the party nuclei, in increasing the number of communists, by their correct distribution to all groups, by improving their personal qualities, by increasing demandingness on them and so forth. In organizational terms this is carried out in a particularly sensitive manner through the party groups, as they are closest to the people and are a living, direct tie of the party with the people. Hence the demand in the accountability report of the head of the party group to provide an answer to how the party's policy through the group is carried into the primary labor collectives, into the activities of the inferior-level administrative and economic managements, into the work of the brigade councils, the trade union and Komsomol groups.

This means that the accountability meeting will assess the situation in the collectives where party groups have been established, the state of labor and discipline, the content of their internal life and its reflection on all activities of the workers; it will analyze to what degree the employed means, forms and methods for direct political, organizational and indoctrinational work have been effective; what has been the participation of the party groups in control exercised by the primary organization over the activities of the economic and administrative leaders and so forth.

Next, the National Party Conference (1984) set out all the factors--scientific, technical, technological, raw product, material, economic, social and personnel--which determine high-quality products and high-quality activities. For the mastery of these it is essential to have, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out in his concluding speech at the conference, "many hands, the hands of millions of people, the hands of each man."

The party groups have inexhaustible opportunities to provide more and more participants in resolving the quality problems. On the one hand, a direct active part by each party member by constructive labor is a major contribution to the common cause. On the other hand, each communist with his attractiveness, with

his principledness, conscientiousness and effectiveness is a unifying center, an attractive force for the nonparty persons. For this reason both the reports and the statements must account for the personal contribution of each communist in the struggle to actually carry out the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference his position in life and social activeness to introduce the new economic mechanism and internal cost accounting, for improving product quality, for effectively utilizing the achievements of scientific and technical progress and Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience, for the indoctrination and moral growth of people and for satisfying their constantly growing material and spiritual interests and needs. But the measure of a communist's contribution, in the words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov said before the students and teachers of the OANSU [Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration] cannot be linked to his personal addition, however great this may be. "The measure is also how many persons he has involved in the general upswing, how he has helped in providing the necessary conditions for the full releasing of the forces and for increasing the contribution of his comrades from the labor collective."

Thirdly, in the stage of building a developed socialist society where our country presently is, the scale and complexity of the social, economic, administrative and other tasks are increasing. They can be successfully resolved only with the active, creative participation of all the communists and all the workers. This means the tapping of all the intellectual, spiritual, mental and physical potential of the party and the people; to unleash the inexhaustible opportunities of the people to stimulate their aspirations, to inspire their thoughts and daring, to develop completely and realize fully the human personality. Hence the objective need to further democracy in the party and in production activities, in all socioeconomic and spiritual life and to improve socialist democracy.

The accountability-election meetings of the groups are the basic organizational form of internal party democracy. For this reason, democracy must be fully manifested in them. How is this to be done?

In the first place, the leader of the party group, as the elected person giving the report, will make a profound, critical analysis and political assessment of his organizational and indoctrinational activities, of his role in broadening direct democracy, in the active functioning of the party group, its joint work with the brigade council, the trade union and Komsomol group; on the participation of the communists in their life and their vanguard role; on improving socialist social justice in the labor collective and so forth.

Secondly, at the accountability-election meeting of the party group, an atmosphere is created of a frank, critical and analytical conversation. Everyone freely, in following his conscience, expresses his opinion on the discussed questions, says what is bothering him, what is preventing him from taking an active part in the work to achieve high quality and high productivity; he points out the effective means and dependable ways to progress. The clash of opinions and the debate at the meeting will shed additional light on the problems which confront the communists and will help to discover the forms, means and methods by which they will be resolved. Certainly these searches and clashes of opinion will be conducted from clear Marxist-Leninist positions, within the limits of

the Program and By-Laws and before the adopting of a decision. It is precisely at the group's accountability meeting that each communist will hear an assessment of his activities by his comrades.

Thirdly, the members of the party group work side by side, at the same work area, that is, section, department, service, scientific group, construction project, livestock farm and so forth. This immediate proximity allows them to observe and know the strong and weak points in the activities of each, the way of their life and labor and their personal qualities such as organizational skills, organizational experience and professional expertise. They can best see who among them is capable of heading the party group, organizing it, uniting the communists in the brigade, production section, shift, shop, farm and so forth and by common effort lead the nonparty persons toward active labor and social expression. The election of the party group leader must be carried out in the most democratic way. This will be done by the communists after they have profoundly, thoroughly and critically analyzed and assessed the qualities of their comrades, and they elect one who is capable of truly directing the party group and who unites and rallies the others around him. They will elect the leader who has won their confidence for his moral qualities, his humaneness and his ability to work with everyone; who is capable and ready to experience human joys and concerns. Then the people will seek him out for advice, for aid, they will heed his words and follow him in any initiative. The group leader will be capable to respond to the increased tasks and to the higher criteria; he will be professionally trained, with a high level of organization and high moral qualities.

If these basic requirements are observed, the reports and elections in the party groups will create conditions for a high quality level at the accountability-election meetings of the primary organizations.

#### A Concrete Approach and Concrete Responsibilities of the Party Committees

The local party committees also have an active role and definite obligations in directing the accountability-election campaign in the primary party organization as a single, purposeful and organized process. The obshtina, rayon, city, general-village, combine, plant and institution party committees realize these obligations in relation to each separate primary organization, considering its particular features and work conditions. The okrug party committees direct and help the obshtina committees, they closely observe and monitor the course of the campaign, and they generalize the most characteristic questions, the critical comments and proposals relating to the work of the okrug and central leadership.

In what more specifically is the leadership of the meetings by the superior party bodies expressed? On the basis of the decisions of the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference and in accord with the ideas and concepts developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the congress, certain questions have come to the forefront. These are:

- 1) To orient the work of the conferences at the most important and urgent problems and tasks which the party is carrying out;

- 2) To help the party bureaus in making a profound analysis and correct assessment in the reports and in observing the correct directions of forthcoming work;
- 3) To assist in establishing a situation of strict observance of Leninist standards in party life, as well as great exactingness, principledness, criticalness and self-criticalness;
- 4) To provide specific aid in selecting the candidates for the new membership of the party bureaus, in considering the present tasks and criteria, and the opinions of the communists concerning their qualities.

From the meetings the party committees will draw conclusions on their own work and on the activities of the state, economic and other leadership bodies in the area of resolving the problems in the territorial units, in the economic organizations, in institutions and so forth. The critical comments and proposals will direct them at undertaking immediate and decisive measures to change the state of things and for some of these they must inform the superior party bodies.

Nor must we underestimate certain organizational elements in the leadership of the accountability-election campaign which reflects on its qualitative level, including: determining the most suitable dates for holding the meetings in various spheres and activities, the participation of the leading party, economic and social aktiv in the meetings, the prompt processing of information from the meetings and so forth.

These aspects and elements of leadership for the reports and elections in the primary party organizations are a question of planning, organization and control by the party committees and an important condition for the correct carrying out of the campaign as a purposeful and integrated process. In no instance do these impair its democratic nature. The Party By-Laws and the Instructions on Holding Elections of the Leading Party Bodies create sufficiently strong guarantees for democracy in the reports and elections and its actual manifestation depends upon the bureaus of the primary organizations and upon the leadership and aid of the party committees.

The basic elements, tasks, requirements and criteria related to the organization and leadership of the accountability-election meetings are worked out and concretized in the instructions which comprise the start of the preparatory work. These set out the goals and tasks, the general and specific characteristic traits and particular features for the various primary organizations in terms of the content of the campaign and simulate its occurrence as a process. It is of essential importance for the committee to express its position and views on resolving the basic questions, to point out the difficulties and their causes and to outline the long-range future. The bureaus must be informed on what the corresponding leading bodies have done on the critical comments and proposals sent to them from the primary organizations from last year's accountability-election meetings up to the present. Now it is very important, one year after the announcing of the decision of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee on the results of the review on raising the role and militancy of the primary party organizations, to analyze and judge how the tasks and recommendations in this decision have been carried out and how the positive trends and successes achieved during the review have been developed and established.

Of particular importance is that the giving of the instructions not be established as a decree with the imposing of ready-made schemes and decisions, but rather focus on creative search, on new views for working out and elucidating the problems and at assessing the state of work from modern approaches and criteria. These instructions will contain the entire view of the committee concerning the goals, content and techniques of the campaign. If it meets these requirements, then it will increase its directive and organizing role, and will help to create the necessary prerequisites for raising the preparation and conduct of the meetings to a high political and organizational level. Obviously the content and preparation of the instructions must be approached with different views and criteria. But without serious and profound work, without collective efforts and high responsibility, the instructions will merely reproduce old schemes and will not help to concern the developing positive trends in the primary party organizations.

An important aspect in the organization and leadership of the accountability-election campaigns is the help and supervision from the okrug, obshtina and other party committees, where their most direct effect will be achieved by the immediate participation of their members and co-workers from the party apparatus. The including of the entire elected aktiv is of primary significance. From the members of the leading party bodies, the communists expect information on the activities of these bodies concerning the carrying out of pressing tasks and they assess their work through this prism. The meetings will pass on their proposals, critical comments and recommendations to them as the most authoritative representatives of the party committees. The experience during the review of raising the role and militancy of the primary party organizations confirmed this form as particularly effective.

By his active and immediate participation in preparing the accountability-election meeting, the committee representative will actually help to raise its level. This assumes a closer linking with the life of the communists and the collective and a more profound awareness of the ways to the achieved results, the existing problems and difficulties. The committee representative cannot give at the meeting just the most general orientation concerning the state and tasks of the primary organization or give advice and make appeals for more successful work. He must have a clear and accurate idea of the work and a concrete position on the problems. Obviously, this cannot be achieved merely by inquiries or from impressions of the meeting itself. The position, view and recommendations of the committee representative will be strong and accurate if they are based upon the personal preliminary studies and on direct involvement in the organization's measures preceding the meeting.

Precisely with such help and involvement the communists will be respectful and trustful of the comments and recommendations of the committee representative and will feel the proximity and concern of the superior leadership for their own work. The judgment and views of the committee concerning the work of the party bureau and the communists holding leading positions in other bodies must be collectively assessed and maximally concrete.

The approach of the okrug, obshtina and other party committees to the organization and leadership of the accountability-election meetings is an unique catalyst for the new phenomena and trends which are developing and being established



in the primary party organizations. To a significant degree this approach, the specific directions and recommendations in the instructions and the direct aid in preparing the meetings will determine whether the most essential questions are raised for discussion by the communists, from what standpoint they will be reviewed and what decisions will be taken. This will also determine whether there are grounds for formalism, whether the party organizations can draw more significant generalizations from the petty concerns and cares of the day and achieve more important conclusions and concrete measures to raise the level of work to the height of present-day requirements. Ultimately this approach will determine what lessons and conclusions the party committees will draw concerning their style of work and the leadership of the primary party organizations and the state, economic and social bodies and organizations. All of this determines the great responsibility of the okrug, obshtina, rayon, city, combine, institution and other party committees for providing high-quality leadership over the accountability-election meetings of the primary party organizations and their preeminence as a political campaign of general-party and nationwide significance.

10272

CSO: 2200/11

TELEPHONE DIRECTORY OF GOVERNMENT OFFICES EXPECTED IN 1986

Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 16 Sep 84 p 4

[Interview conducted by Georgi Ifandiev with engineer Stefan Stefanov, chief specialist at the Science and Technical Progress Department of the Ministry of Communications: "A New Sofia Telephone Directory"]

[Text] What is obstructing the compilation of an official telephone directory? The Ministry of Communications promises the next edition for the beginning of 1986.

[Question] Last year the capital acquired the long-awaited personal telephone directory. The directory listing official telephone numbers, however, was last published in 1976. The changes which have taken place since then are so numerous that it confuses rather than helps. Will new telephone directories for official and household telephone numbers be available in Sofia? We asked this question of engineer Stefan Stefanov, chief specialist at the Science and Technical Progress Department of the Ministry of Communications, who is most directly involved with the compilation and publication of telephone directories.

[Answer] The household telephone directory which came out last year was based on new technology. All data were recorded on magnetic tape and filed, for which reason its reprinting with the necessary additions is no problem. The situation involving official telephones is by far more difficult. We do have a certain amount of information. However, over the past 8 years there have been such great changes in departments, institutions and organizations that such data are no longer of practical value. Last autumn we started sending letters to all central departments, economic organizations, institutes and establishments requesting information on their precise telephone numbers and current affiliation. We have sent more than 750 letters so far and received about 450 answers.

[Question] Are there other hindrances?

[Answer] We would like to publish the new directory in a single volume combining official with household telephone numbers. We are further hindered by changes in the names of some streets and the names given to new streets. In the case of the bigger boulevards we find the necessary information from the press. However, in the case of small streets and particularly streets in residential areas we obtain no information whatsoever. We expect in the

future copies of the minutes governing such changes and new developments to come from the Sofia City People's Council.

[Question] Nevertheless, when could the Sofia people hope to receive a new combined telephone directory and what will it look like?

[Answer] We had planned its publication for 1985. We are now forced to postpone it to the beginning of 1986. We believe that this deadline will be met. Its appearance will not be significantly different from last year's. Thanks to some innovations in its compilation, its size will be smaller. It will be published in 150,000 copies, sufficient to meet all requirements.

5003

CSO: 2200/14

ASPECTS OF NEW FAMILY CODE, DIVORCE LAW CRITICIZED

Opinion of Writer

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 4 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by Slav G. Karashevov]

[Text] The new Family Code has been awaited justifiably with a great deal of interest, for its purpose is to resolve a number of sensitive problems related to marriage, property relations within the family and divorce....

The very first paragraphs show the profound and serious concern displayed by the legislators for strengthening the family, dictated not by any kind of self-seeking purpose but the need to create a cozy, warm atmosphere and environment in which our children--the future and hope of the nation--will be raised and educated.

Let me immediately point out that the Family Code applies to families in which there is understanding, love and desire for sacrifice, families in which the spouses show profound and realized responsibility for their rights and obligations, to the extent to which it gives or denies the right to start a life together. Unfortunately, however, divorces exist as well. This is an alarming and tremendously undesirable phenomenon which, however, is occasionally necessary and inevitable. It is an old truth that an administrative approach to such delicate areas as intimate human relations or the right to make one's own decision on strictly personal matters is generally ineffective, to say the least. That is why it seems to me that the entire first part which governs relations between spouses within the family should be more concrete. Let us consider, for example, Article 18. It reads that the spouses "must" ensure the development of the family and be concerned with raising, educating and maintaining their children through joint efforts and reciprocal understanding. But what if one of the spouses is unwilling to take these requirements into consideration? If 2 or 3 days are spent quarrelling, if there is jealousy and suspicion which poison the family atmosphere, is this a reason for divorce on the part of the other spouse who "must" maintain his own tranquility and calm? If it is not, how can one influence the nature, behavior, upbringing and standards of the other partner? Would the word "must" do? I doubt that it will be effective if this article in the Family Code does not also stipulate penalties or the rights of the victimized spouse. Perhaps subsequent chapters and articles of the draft would include stipulations on creating an intolerable psychological climate for one of the spouses.

In my view, Article 16 as well has been formulated inaccurately: spouses live together unless something major forces them to live apart. What kind of reason could it be? Job assignment after university graduation? Long-term assignment in another settlement? Or else simply the whim of one of the spouses to move, from a city to a village, for example, or vice versa? Would the objections of the other spouse not lead to arguments which could not be resolved through administrative or judiciary means or else, as is frequently the case, would the strong foundations of the family begin to crack?

The same administrative approach is found in Article 68, paragraph 2: the second husband or second wife must help the parent in carrying out such obligations. However, there are frequent cases in which after the marriage the "new daddy" or "new mommy" categorically proclaims: "You must choose between me or your child!" What if the second spouse does not feel "obligated"? How is this problem resolved? A divorce by mutual consent and without a guilty party takes 4 years and a fee of 500 leva. Meanwhile, the heart of the parent is torn between his desire to preserve his family and his love for a child from the first marriage! It seems to me that this minor detail has been omitted by the compilers of the draft, the more so since, as a rule, the father or mother of a child from a first marriage prefers to divorce rather than to part from the child. But even if a stipulation on this matter is included, another question arises: could anyone be forced to love someone else against his will?

The most difficult, degrading and denigrating divorce cases are those in which culpability is sought, followed by division of property. So far, mothers were favored as a rule. It was thus that the clever "Amazon" could acquire a house, a cottage and a car in several years and after three marriages, while the child was being raised by the "non-obligated" grandfather and grandmother in the country or anywhere else as long as it did not hinder the "career" of the "mother." Most frequently the truth was based on the testimony of prejudiced witnesses and depended on the impudence and unceremonious behavior of one of the parents.

It is along this train of thought that it seems to me that the "mandatory" search for culpability in a divorce inevitably leads to the aggravation of relations, bearing false witness, excessive emotions and destruction of the small amount of human respect which would be left in the already estranged spouses with a decent practical divorce. Such relations cannot fail to have a lasting influence on the children. In my view, no deadlines, no high fees or administrative measures can preserve a marriage when everything between two people has burned out. In this respect other ways and means of strengthening the family should be sought.

In terms of property relations, preliminary property contracts could be signed with the help of experienced lawyers or legal consultations. If according to Article 25 the spouses may work out a deal between them, why could they not sign such contracts as well? This would avoid a number of unnecessary disputes and searches for proof 10 or more years old, unworthy scenes in "dividing" property by experts, etc.

Joint savings deposits are also a subject of concern. This may involve insoluble disputes as to what amounts have come from where, how much has been spent, whose money is it specifically. Or else means must be sought for "concealing" money from the family, converting it into objects not subject to division of assets, etc. This stipulation violates another stipulation governing the secrecy of bank accounts! The moment a loophole exists in the text, practical experience will come up with such dizzying variants that no one would see the end of it. It would not be bad for the draft Family Code to provide an interpretation of the concept of "equality," for I think that "equality" does not mean "equal." In property cases, equality is usually identified with equal: the property is divided into two equal halves although one of the spouses may have accounted for approximately three-quarters of it during the marriage. This, however, is not equality.

A marriage or a divorce is a social phenomenon which can be regulated with social rather than exclusively administrative measures. In order for our new law to be just, authoritative and indisputable it must agree with other legal stipulations, such as the right to own objects and real estate, the right to inherit and the right to bequeath.... A couple who bring into the marriage two housing premises must abandon one within a stipulated deadline while the second, in addition to the funds received from the sale of the first, become joint family property. In a divorce, one of the spouses finds himself or herself without a roof, for it was precisely his or her house that had to be sold and the funds invested for "strengthening" the family. A similar question arises in inheriting property. Property inherited from the family of one of the spouses decades ago all of a sudden becomes common family property! What about the so-called "reserved" shares of a legacy? The testator has no right to withhold inheritance from one or more of his children even if they have proved to be ungrateful, have not taken care of him, have "teleported" him to an old people's home and have merely waited for the time when they could receive their "reserved" share. This too becomes part of the property relations in the family, where sons or daughters-in-law do not always take into consideration the aged, disabled or sick parents of the spouse. In this sense Article 69, paragraph 2, or Article 82 should be expanded. It would be equally easy to add a new article on the right to maintenance, with testament and inheritance stipulations.

The purpose of the new Family Code is clear: comprehensive protection of the family. Here again, I think, prevention is the most important feature. I have not seen so far any family rest vouchers. Usually the spouses receive separate vouchers for different resorts. It is only running around and making proper connections that make it possible for the entire family to spend its leave together. A great deal could be done in this respect, such as reduced cost of traveling and of vouchers, and so on, so that the family could always and everywhere be together....

We know that lack of information in a society triggers rumors and gossip. Divorce cases are the only ones generating information which encourages rather than stops gossip. It is in this connection that Article 108 creates a great deal of doubt and concern. It calls for sending a transcript of the decision which assigns culpability to the labor collective at the place of

work or the public organization at the place of residence for the purpose of exerting social influence. But what if the "culpability" of one of the spouses happens to be impotence, sterility, a physiological or any other disturbance or a severe disability? I can imagine not the influence of the collective on the culprit but the effect which this "news" will have on the collective or in the district where the person lives! I think that this measure has been borrowed from other laws.

Finally, I would like to discuss the 500 leva divorce fee. What results could it achieve? It would artificially block a divorce or some divorces without, however, putting an end to extramarital relations, as a result of which we will have nothing but a false statistical figure showing a decline in divorces. This, however, would not increase the number of "families." Combined with the stipulation of a 4-year waiting period for divorce by mutual consent, this fee will open the door to openly neglecting the family, hypocrisy and double standards, which conflicts with our morality and traditions. Yet this is not the purpose of these funds or our constant concern to strengthen the family. Other seemingly petty matters also exist which are the subject of concern and doubt. What are they? It would be difficult to answer immediately and here again we should consider the opinion of specialists, such as attorneys, judges and psychologists who should study statistical data. Their opinion should not be imperative, involving names and organizations but imbued with profound concern and responsibility, for a law such as the Family Code is drafted to last not 10 years but entire generations!

#### Opinion of Jurist

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 4 Oct 84 p 6

[Interview with Supreme Court Justice Ivan Antonov]

[Text] The draft of the new Family Code has triggered a justifiable interest among all popular strata. People of different age groups and social status are expressing their views on the subject. This is quite natural, for the rules of behavior in the family apply to anyone who is married or about to be married. However, the final word on this topic justifiably belongs to the jurists who come across different problems related to this subject on a daily basis.

This was the subject of an interview requested by the editors with Ivan Antonov, member of the Bulgarian People's Republic Supreme Court, who was asked to share with the readers of LITERATURE FRONT some of his thoughts on the draft of the new Family Code.

[Question] Comrade Antonov, what are both the common and different features of the current and the draft of the new Family Code?

[Answer] The common feature between the current SK [Family Code] and the draft of the new code is that both deal with the same subject--relations based on marriage, parental relations, adoption, guardianship and trusteeship. Both pursue the same objectives as stipulated in articles 1 and 2 of the draft.

The current Family Code has served our society for the past 16 years. Within that time profound changes have taken place in our entire political, social and cultural life. Basic changes have taken place in the lives of individuals as well. At the same time, new, stricter requirements were formulated for the assertion of the most humane socialist principles in life. Naturally, this is also reflected on the family in our society and the growth and vitality of the entire nation. The socialist state devotes a great deal of care for the family, its material and social insurance and the moral and cultural enhancement of the individual. The current SK played a progressive role in asserting the socialist principles in family and individual life. However, relations have changed a great deal and the current SK cannot meet their great variety in this area.

That is what made the drafting of a new Family Code necessary. Many of the basic principles the content of which remains valid have been included in it. The draft is a summation of the most characteristic and typical features of relations in this area. It includes some concept borrowed from the most progressive features of the legislations of other socialist countries, Soviet legislation above all.

[Question] Does the draft include texts which require clarifications or additions?

[Answer] The draft which has been submitted for nationwide discussion includes texts which must be expanded and clarified. Some of them will be refined, expanded and improved in the course of the discussion.

Thus, for example, Article 28, paragraph 3, of the draft reads as follows: "Whenever the marriage is dissolved, the court may allocate a greater share of common property to one of the spouses if his or her contribution to its acquisition considerably exceeds that of the other spouse." This introduces the "significant" criterion which is already unclear and must be refined. The court is given the right to determine the degree of significance of the contribution. Practical experience, however, has proved that such an assessment is always subjective and deviations will always appear favoring one of the parties. The same criterion is found in the current SK and problems relative to it were resolved in different manners. It had become necessary for the Supreme Court of the Bulgarian People's Republic to issue basic and interpretative decisions. This shortcoming remains in the new draft as well.

Also somewhat unclear is the text of Article 26, paragraph 2, of the draft: "Community property may be terminated by the court even during the marriage, by request of either spouse, should important reasons make this necessary." It is a question of filing a claim when the behavior of either spouse threatens the communal property, thus substantially affecting the interests of the family, the children above all. The criterion of "demanded for



important reasons" needs interpretation. It is very general and the problems which will be resolved on its basis will inevitably force the courts into passing subjective judgments, which will lead to different practical interpretations.

The draft includes a new text in Article 108. It stipulates that after the termination of the marriage the court will send a transcript of its decision to the labor collective at the place of work or to the social organization at the place of residence for purposes of exerting social influence if both spouses or either spouse is to blame for the breakup of the marriage. Such an influence could be exerted before the separation, after the reasons for the breakup of the marriage have been determined. After the divorce the influence which may be exerted on the culprit or culprits becomes meaningless. This question should be approached very carefully, for relations between spouses may include problems of a strictly intimate nature and may violate family confidentiality.

[Question] Does the draft of the SK help to strengthen the family morally and legally?

[Answer] After some of the texts have been redrafted and improved, the draft will definitely contribute to strengthening and improving the family in our socialist society. Guarantees for a healthy family are created by properly regulating the legal relationship between spouses and their rights and obligations within the family in terms of its moral enhancement and the proper raising of children for work, loyalty to the socialist fatherland and the development of lofty human virtues.

The draft also establishes some new social principles, such as the protection and encouragement of large families. Particularly important in this respect is the expansion of Chapter 7 of the draft, regulating relations between parents and children. A useful legal base is set for raising and educating children. A new regulation governs relations between grandchildren and grandparents. This is the result of the desire to create healthy moral relations among the closest members of the family.

Chapter 3 introduces considerable improvements in governing the moral aspect of relations between spouses and matters dealing with joint property.

[Question] Does the draft of the new family code contribute to improvements in the system of family joint ownership?

[Answer] The draft provides for significant improvements in joint family ownership. Aspects in this section are further improved based on the rich practical experience of the courts. The definition of joint marital ownership has been refined. The system of private property and the change in its status during the marriage has been perfected. Significant improvements have been made in the system of managing and handling joint property. A number of new stipulations have been introduced in property relations between spouses. Deposits are treated as joint family property. The stipulation has been included that both spouses have made a contribution to the account. In my

view, this stipulation must be perfected in order not to conflict with some basic principles of joint family property. In our country no one has the right to enrich himself at the expense of someone else's labor. I believe that such accounts must be considered joint family property only if the funds were the result of mutual efforts of both spouses and only here should the presumption apply that both spouses have equally contributed to the account. The other deposits from wages and means acquired from personal labor should return their status as private property. There is a gap between Article 19, paragraph 1, and Article 20, paragraph 1, of the draft. The latest text stipulates that money acquired in the course of the marriage from an inheritance, a gift or a reward is personal property. This draft, which gives priority to the presumption that the other spouse has contributed to the accumulation of this fund creates conditions for a number of practically unproveable trial cases.

A new stipulation of Article 21 of the draft deals with the so-called partial transformation, which answers an old question awaiting its legislative solution. It is based on the principle that in cases of partial transformation the right of personally acquired property is preserved.

[Question] What is your view on the 4-year waiting period for a divorce based on mutual consent?

[Answer] I believe that this question must be seriously reassessed, taking reality into consideration above all. This decision will open the door to a number of extramarital affairs. It must be made consistent with some natural laws which apply in human relations, such as the laws of biology. This allows for the existence of "dead" marriages and hinders the creation of new families.

[Question] How do you interpret the new requirement of a 500-leva state fee for the termination of a marriage?

[Answer] Legally, this matter is not a subject of interpretation. The fee is mandatory. I believe that this amount is not consistent with the people's income and their property and material situation. Here again conditions are created for preserving actually nonexistent marriages and encouraging extramarital affairs.

#### Opinion of Journalist

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 4 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by Rakho Komforti]

[Text] The family is an intimate microworld created by the joint desire of two people. The concept of "head" of the family disappeared from our vocabulary for understandable reasons. Under socialist conditions a period of 40 years is sufficient for experiencing tangible political and social changes in which men and women are entirely equal in terms of social rights and obligations within the family. This has been categorically and clearly reflected in the draft of the family code. Introduction to the code emphasizes that

"the socialist society protects the family in which social and personal interests are harmoniously combined and dedicates comprehensive concern for its success." This stipulation is legally formulated in Article 2 of Chapter 1. Article 3 defines the main principle according to which "family relations are settled on the basis of the following principles of the protection of the marriage and the family by the state and society: equality between men and women; voluntary nature and durability of the marital union as the foundation of the family; comprehensive protection of children; equality between natural and adopted children; respect for the individual; concern and support among members of the family." In a number of points the draft of the Family Code deals with the principles, functions and protection of the family. In addition to social obligations, which begin immediately after the toasting of the marriage, inevitably comes the concern for the raising and education of the children. All of these obligations become the supreme mandatory duty of a man and a woman who have voluntarily entered into a marriage free from external coercion. I think that at this point mention should be made of the "sportsmen" who exist in our socialist reality as well. With an enviable "dash" and easiness they move from marriage to marriage and from divorce to divorce. They frequently leave behind small and innocent human beings who are then raised by grandparents or boarding schools. Naturally, this does not apply to marriages which have been terminated for objective or other essential reasons. In most cases, however, they lead to conflicts and disputes, particularly in the division of communal property and the matter of parental rights.

Particular attention to this matter is paid in the draft of the new Family Code. As the 1968 Family Code points out, property acquired during the marriage is considered joint family property and is evenly divided in a divorce. This principle is found in Article 19 of Chapter 3. Article 28, paragraph 3, of the same chapter reads as follows: "In the termination of marriage with a divorce, the court may assign a greater share of the communal property to one of the spouses if his contribution to it has significantly exceeded the contribution of the other spouse." On the basis of practical experience, I think that this leads to endless arguments. Everyone knows that there are two sides in a division of property because of a divorce. This becomes a competition in which either side tries (frequently in unseemly ways) to prove that its contribution was significantly greater. Is this endless trial curtailed somewhat? How is such a contribution to be proved? In some cases a mother of several children spends years raising them and coping with the household. This, we may be reminded, is settled with paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 19. That is so, but it deals with a joint and not a significant contribution. Would it not be better, from the editorial viewpoint, for these articles and paragraphs to be combined, since they deal with the same matter, instead of being so widely separated?

Chapter 8 deals with the legal aspects of maintenance problems. Here they have been developed in greater detail compared with the old code and invested with new concepts. According to Article 83 "only the innocent spouse in a divorce has the right to maintenance." However, should the innocent spouse be entitled to maintenance in all cases? Article 79 of Section 3 of the old code stipulates that "maintenance must be claimed by an incapacitated individual who cannot support himself from his property." This text has been

omitted in the new Family Code, which means that the innocent party may seek financial support from the guilty one even if able-bodied and able to support himself or herself from its property. This is recalled in paragraph 2 but only if the court decides to extend the 3-year term in cases when "...the former spouse who receives support is in a particularly difficult situation and the other spouse could provide such support without any particular hardship." What kind of "difficult situation" does this apply to, is it financial or health?

I was told of a case (probably not the only one) of a spouse who forbade his wife to go to work for a number of years. She worked only as a housewife for his comfort. However, the husband fell in love with another woman and left his wife, who was thus left without a profession and labor practice. The legislators certainly had such cases in mind. However, they are not typical of our daily life and it seems to me that the text should be redrafted with a view to preventing abuses and extortion.

We cannot ignore the doubling of the time lapse for a divorce by mutual consent, as stipulated in Chapter 9, Article 100, paragraph 2. The assumption here may be that with a longer period of time a possibility may be found for the preservation of the marriage. However, the reasons for a divorce may be of a nature that even after a very short time a reconciliation is impossible. Such cases do and will exist. This, however, is not reflected in this text. It seems to me, however, that if we were to add to this paragraph something like "exceptions are allowed in particularly urgent cases," no harm would be done.

These are merely a few remarks which are, naturally, subjective. The decision of presenting for public discussion the draft of the family code will unquestionably contribute to its improvement. This is one more confirmation of the democratic nature of our socialist society, i.e., the fact that the people participate in the drafting of legislation.

The proposed draft of a new Family Code provides a solid foundation for the legal relation of relations within the family. It will serve us for a long period of time in strengthening and developing the basic cell of our socialist society.

5003

CSO: 2200/14

## BULGARIA

### CONDITIONS ALLOWING MARRIAGE WITH FOREIGNERS OUTLINED

Sofia NARODNI SUVETI in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 pp 40-42

[Article by Lyuben Velinov, legislation director, Ministry of Justice:  
"Conditions Governing Marriages Between Bulgarian and Foreign Citizens in the  
Bulgarian People's Republic"]

[Text] A marriage is based on meeting preliminary requirements by those wishing to get married. Such stipulations are determined on a sovereign basis by the individual countries, in accordance with a variety of considerations. It is this that explains their variety in terms of their ethnic, historical and demographic aspects. It is true then that the state reflects the official concept of marriage shared by the ruling class and conducts its demographic policy.

Any discrimination is alien to the socialist countries who formulated conditions for a marriage exclusively on the basis of creating a family based on love, mutual respect and trust, suitable for providing a healthy generation and raising the children in a communist spirit. At the same time, social steps are taken to create favorable conditions for strengthening marriage and the family and guaranteeing to all citizens the right to marry and create a family.

Common citizenship facilitates the binding of a marriage, for both future spouses must meet the same conditions. Different jurisdictions and standards create complications leading above all to the question of the conditions which the individuals must meet. The answer is of exceptional importance in the legal relevance of the marriage. If the marriage is consistent only with the conditions stipulated by the law of one of the countries a "lame marriage" may develop. Such a marriage would be valid in the country whose stipulations it meets and invalid in the country of the other spouse if its conditions have not been observed. This uncertainty forces the legislature of the individual countries to seek solutions which would provide guarantees to its citizens married to foreigners not only on its own territory but at least also on the territory of the state at which the other spouse is a citizen.

In our country this problem is resolved through internal legislation and bilateral agreements with some countries. Articles 8, 9 and 10 of the Family Code (SK) define the conditions which must be met by a Bulgarian citizen; Article 91, paragraph 2, stipulates the conditions which the foreign citizen must meet. The treaties for legal assistance in civil and criminal cases

concluded with the GDR (Article 30), Czechoslovakia (Article 32), Hungary (Article 18), Poland (Article 22), Romania (Article 22), Cuba (Article 22) and Mongolia (Article 18) include norms which stipulate the conditions which the citizens of either country must meet before they can marry.

In accordance with these norms our legal system considers that each one of the future spouses must meet the stipulations of his or her domestic laws. The official in charge of the civil status must officially determine the existence of conditions for entering into a marriage before a mixed marriage has been concluded, based not only on Bulgarian but on the domestic laws of the foreign citizen. The difference between domestic legislation and the legal norms based on bilateral agreements is that Article 91, paragraph 2 of the SK stipulates that the foreign citizen must also meet the stipulations of Articles 9 and 10 of our Family Code. This requirement does not apply to citizens of the countries enumerated above.

The marriage is concluded when a civil status official notes that the applicants for the marriage meet the stipulations of the law. A marriage contract cannot be refused merely because the conditions for a marriage based on Bulgarian and foreign laws do not coincide. International contacts allow the application of a foreign legal norm although its content may be different from the local one.

The conditions under which an international marriage is allowed are exceptionally varied in nature and scope and have been designed for a variety of considerations. Does the civil status official have to take into consideration all the stipulations of the foreign law before performing the marriage?

The right to marry is related to a specific age stipulation. The situation in this case is exceptionally varied. On a worldwide basis the right to marry varies between the ages of 12 and 21. Some countries stipulate different ages for men and women. In this connection, the Bulgarian law fully applies to a Bulgarian citizen whereas the foreign citizen must meet the law of his own country. A Bulgarian citizen must be 18 years of age, regardless of sex. An individual between the ages of 16 and 18 may enter into a marriage only by permission of the president of the okrug court. In the case of the foreign citizen his domestic law will be applied in full even if it is substantially different from our own. That is why a 19-year-old citizen of the FRG or Austria may not marry in our country an 18-year-old female Bulgarian citizen, for those countries grant the right to conclude a marriage only to men 21 years old or older. A 15-year-old Italian or Greek female citizen may not be refused permission to marry an adult Bulgarian citizen regardless of the stipulation of Article 18, paragraph 1 of the SK and no permission is required in this case by the president of the okrug court as per Article 8, paragraph 2, of the SK, for the marital right of women according to Italian and Greek law is acquired at the age of 14.

All stipulations of foreign laws will be taken into consideration, relative to blood relations, adoption or illness considered obstacles for marriage according to Bulgarian law as well, regardless of existing differences in scope. Also taken into consideration are hindrances not included in

Bulgarian laws, such as a ban on getting married before a certain period of time from the termination of a previous marriage has elapsed, eventual pregnancy, brokerage, permission for entering into a mixed marriage issued by the respective state organs, and others.

Should conditions for concluding a marriage as stipulated in Bulgarian and foreign laws differ in terms of content or scope, the marriage must be allowed on the basis of the stricter requirements of either of the different laws. The laws of the GDR, Poland, the RSFSR and Czechoslovakia forbid marriage between second-degree blood relatives. No marriage is allowed between third-degree blood relatives, one of whom is a Bulgarian citizen, for such a marriage will conflict with the stipulation of Article 10, letter "c" of the SK, which is stricter compared to the laws of the indicated countries. Bulgarian law does not recognize the status of stepchildren as a hindrance for a marriage, for which reason children of previous marriages brought into the same family may marry each other. Should one of them be a citizen of the GDR the marriage will not be allowed, for Article 8 of the GDR Family Code considers such relationship a hindrance to a marriage.

Although Article 91, paragraph 2, of the SK refers without reservations to the foreign law, this does not mean in the least that all the stipulations of the foreign law will be accepted. The foreign norm will be applied in our country only if the stipulations which it includes do not conflict with the basic principles of the socialist state and society and do not result in discrimination against sex, race, nationality, religion, origin, education or social and material status. Even without the strict stipulation of Article 91, paragraph 2, of the SK, according to which a foreigner may meet the stipulations of Article 9 of the SK, marrying a foreigner who is already married to someone else is not allowed, although his own domestic law may allow polygamy. Allowing such a marriage would mean a violation of a basic principle of the socialist society, which considers a monogamous marriage the only possible one. In accordance with the instruction on marriages between Bulgarian and foreign citizens and letter I-78/31 January 1975, of the Ministry of Justice, a marriage between a Bulgarian citizen and a foreigner, whose domestic law allows polygamy, is possible only if the foreigner is not already married to someone else and if a subsequent marriage is possible only with the agreement of the wife or on the basis of upbringing, education, social status, etc. The purpose is to prevent polygamy. Nor would stipulations of "blood purity," identical religion or ethnicity or other similar discriminatory measures be considered, which conflict with Article 35 of the Constitution and the principles adopted by the Bulgarian People's Republic of Article 16, paragraph 1, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and Article 7 of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe.

A foreigner may have double citizenship or no citizenship. In the first case he is governed by the stipulations of two domestic laws and in the second by no domestic law. In double citizenship it is not required for the conditions of both domestic laws to be met. All that are necessary are the conditions of the law of the "effective citizenship." This applies to the citizenship granted by the state with which the individual is more closely related: living in its territory, performing his military obligations to it, enjoying its

civil and political rights, working for the state, etc. Even a single one of these stipulations is sufficient. This rule applies only if the individual is not also a Bulgarian citizen. If one of his citizenships is Bulgarian, in being married by a Bulgarian official, such a citizen should meet only the stipulations of the Bulgarian laws. Individuals who have no citizenship must also meet Bulgarian legal stipulations.

5003

CSO: 2200/18



## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

YORDANOV RECEIVES NICARAGUAN MINISTER--Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee of Culture, yesterday received Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture of the Republic of Nicaragua. The talk proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere and was attended by Bayardo Salmeron Chavez, Nicaraguan ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Oct 84 p 3 AU]

MIKHAYLOV MEETS CPSU LECTURERS--A group of CPSU Central Committee lecturers visited Bulgaria from 16 to 26 October 1984. They were headed by Viktor Gerasimov, secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Oblast Committee. They visited okrug and municipal BCP committees and gave lectures to workers collectives, as well as to party and economic activists. The Soviet lecturers were received by Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who briefed them on the activities of the BCP in connection with implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and of the BCP National Conference. Todor Ganchev, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee "Ideological Policy" department, attended the meeting, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Oct 84 p 6 AU]

DPRK DELEGATION TO BALEV--Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, yesterday received a DPRK delegation led by Bak-Hak En, first vice chairman of the Administrative People's Committee of the DPRK capital [name and title as published]. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Nov 84 p 6 AU]

COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH USSR--A 1985 protocol on scientific-technical cooperation and trade between the Ministry of Production and Trade With Consumer Goods and the Soviet Ministry of Trade was signed in Sofia today. It provides for utilizing joint elaborations connected with the higher effectiveness and better organization of domestic trade and public services. Trade is expected to be 15 percent greater than in 1984. The document was signed by Khristaki Kunev, first deputy minister of production and trade with consumer goods, and by Sergey Alyoshin, deputy minister of USSR trade. Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of production and trade with consumer goods, also attended the signing ceremony. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Oct 84 AU]

YOTOV, OTHERS ATTEND CELEBRATION--A celebration marking the 75th birthday of the now dead poet Nikola Vaptsarov was held in Sofia tonight. "Comrades Yordan Yotov, Georgi Yordanov, Stoyan Mikhaylov; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and many Bulgarian writers and poets attended the celebration." [Summary] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Oct 84 AU]

YORDANOV RECEIVED BLOC PHOTOGRAPHERS--Sofia, 26 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Georgi Yordanov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council and chairman of the Committee for Culture, received the editors-in-chief of photo journals from the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, who attended here, held first international meeting of photographs. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 26 Oct 84 AU]

BCP DELEGATION RETURNS FROM SFRY--Sofia, 26 Oct (BTA)--A working group of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party returned from Yugoslavia. The visit was paid under the cooperation plan between the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Central Committee of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 26 Oct 84 AU]

TODOROV, YORDANOV ATTEND SESSION--A session of the National Assembly Permanent Commission for Foreign Affairs, chaired by its chairman, Petur Tanchev, has been held in Sofia. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, chairman of other similar commissions, and high-ranking officials of the BCP Central Committee, of the State and Ministerial Council, of the Committee for Culture and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as other cultural figures attended the session. Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, read a report on the state and prospects of Bulgaria's cultural ties. Mariya Zakharieva, Radenko Grigorov, Dimitur Bratanov and Vladimir Topencharov, National Assembly deputies, took the floor. The commission highly assessed the international activity of the Committee for Culture and expressed satisfaction with the substantial successes that Bulgaria has achieved in developing its international cultural ties. A number of recommendations on further improving the quality and effectiveness of the country's foreign cultural activity were made. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Oct 84 AU]

HONORS FOR SOVIET ACADEMICIAN--Today Georgi Yordanov presented the 40-year Socialist Bulgaria Jubilee Order to Academician Sergey Mikhaylov, a poet, writer, and chairman of the RSFSR Union of Writers. During the talks that followed the ceremony, the results of the Fifth International Writers Session under the motto "Peace--a Hope for the Planet" were discussed. [Excerpts] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 27 Oct 84 AU]

KUBADINSKI RECEIVES POLISH EDITOR--Yesterday Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council received Zdzislaw Morawski, editor in chief of ZYCIE WARZAWY. The eminent Polish journalist, who for many years has headed the Polish

Television information department and who has also been a PAP correspondent in Africa, the Middle East, Rome, and the Vatican during the past decades, was acquainted with our party and social work for the education of the young generation. Zdislaw Morawski showed interest in the structure of the Fatherland Front, which is the largest sociopolitical organization in Bulgaria, and which is an embodiment of the people's unity, as well as in its activity for improving the political system and for developing a direct democracy. The Polish journalist was also familiarized with the forthcoming all-people's referendum on a new draft Family Code. Zdislaw Morawski is a guest of OTECHESTVEN FRONT, a long-term cooperation protocol between the two dailies is expected to be signed. [Text] [Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Oct 84 p 1 AU]

AWARD FOR VATICAN OFFICIAL--Rome, 25 Oct (BTA corr)--A ceremony was held at the Bulgarian Embassy today on awarding the vice prefect of the Vatican Apostolic Library Monsignor Jose Riuscar with the medal of "1300 Years Bulgaria" by Bulgaria's State Council for his contribution to the development of Bulgarestics. The award was conferred by the Bulgarian Ambassador Rayko Nikolov who presented congratulations to him. Among those who attended the ceremony was the nuncio and doyen of the diplomatic corps in Italy Monsignor Romolo Carboni, the Nuncio for Special Assignments Monsignor Luigi Poggi, the prefect of the Vatican apostolic library Monsignor Alfonso Stickler and other officials. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 25 Oct 84 AU]

OMAN LIBERATION FRONT DELEGATION--At the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council on 5 November a delegation of the Oman National Liberation Front led by the front's general secretary Abdul Aziz al-Kadi [spelling as transliterated], arrived in Bulgaria. The delegation had talks with a delegation of the Fatherland Front National Council led by Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, who briefed the guests on the history and importance of the Fatherland Front and the tasks solved by it at the present. On his part, Abdul Aziz al-Kadi informed about the struggle led by the National Front against imperialism and colonialism and for freedom and national independence. The sides expressed mutual satisfaction with the establishment of contacts between the two fronts and with their readiness to expand and strengthen their cooperation. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Nov 84 p 8 AU]

TOURIST PROTOCOL WITH FRANCE--Luchezar Avramov, chairman of the Bulgarian Association for Tourism and Relaxation, and Michel Crepeau, French minister of trade, handicrafts and tourism, have signed a protocol on the work of the sixth regular session of the joint Bulgarian-French Commission for Cooperation in the Field of Tourism held in Paris. The protocol provides for expanding working contacts among the tourist organizations of the two countries, increasing the number of tourists and establishing permanent working groups of specialists who will work out practical and technical matters on the future cooperation between France and Bulgaria in the sphere of tourism. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 8 Nov 84 AU]

OMANI POPULAR FRONT DELEGATION VISITS--A delegation of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman led by its secretary general, Abdul Aziz al-Kadi [name as published], has arrived in Bulgaria at the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council. The delegation had talks with a delegation of the Fatherland Front National Council led by Pencho Kubadinski, its chairman and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, who acquainted the guests with the history and importance of the Fatherland Front as well as with the tasks which it is facing at the present stage of development. For his part, Abdul Aziz al-Kadi briefed Kubadinski about the Popular Front's struggle against imperialism and colonialism as well as for freedom and national independence. Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the establishment of contacts between the two fronts and with their readiness to strengthen and expand cooperation between them. [Text] [Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 8 Nov 84 p 3 AU]

FILIPOV IN LOVECH OKRUG--A meeting marking the opening of a public services combine and of a food-producing combine has been held in the village of Doyrentsi, Lovech Okrug. Comrade Grisha Filipov, Petur Balevski, first secretary of the Lovech Okrug party committee, and other okrug leaders attended the meeting. After opening and inspecting the departments of the new combine for public services, Comrade Grisha Filipov visited an exhibition at the local museum where old archeological findings from the Thracian tombs were exhibited. Later a meeting at the hall of the village's reading room was held. In his speech, Comrade Grisha Filipov conveyed greetings to the people of the village on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and wished them further successes in socialist life. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 84 AU]

COOPERATION TALKS WITH GHANA--Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA)--The economic relations between Bulgaria and Ghana are advancing in many respects. This assessment was made here today at the third session of the Bulgaro-Ghanaian Commission for Economic and Techno-scientific Cooperation, which has been sitting here for 3 days. The protocol on the work of the session and next year's trade protocol provide for mutual trade to come up to about \$15 million. Bulgarian exports will be dominated by products of engineering, the pharmaceutical industry and metallurgy. Ghana will supply Bulgaria mostly with traditional goods. Under the economic cooperation agreement Bulgarian specialists will render aid to Ghana in the construction of two quarries and in the design and other preparatory work for the construction of a pig and fodder farm, an irrigation system and an ice-making plant. The documents were signed by the cochairmen of the bilateral economic commission--Mr Ivan Sakarev--first deputy minister of construction and urban development of Bulgaria and Mr Ato Ahoy, [spelling as printed] secretary for trade with the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 1 Nov 84 AU]

SECRETARIES MEET JOURNALISTS--On the occasion of the Day of Bulgarian journalism, 1 November, at the Boyana residence the traditional meeting between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, and the representatives of the mass media took place. The participants greeted our first party and state leader with warmth, cordiality and prolonged applause. The following comrades took also part in the meeting: Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Georgi Atanasov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Vasil Tsanov, Kiril Zarev and Emil Khristov. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Nov 84 AU]

PLANES, HELICOPTERS TO ETHIOPIA--The People's Republic of Bulgaria has offered aid to the Socialist Republic of Ethiopia, which is suffering from the effects of a severe drought. Bulgaria has delivered aircraft and helicopters for the transport of foodstuffs and other goods to the area suffering from the disaster. The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and the government have expressed sincere gratitude to the BCP, to the Bulgarian Government, and people, as well as personal gratitude to Comrade Todor Zhivkov for the selfless assistance offered to the Ethiopian people in their time of distress.  
[Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Nov 84 AU]

CSO: 2200/37

CASES OF CORRUPTION, BRIBERY REVEALED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 19 Sep 84 p 7

[Article by 'nk': "Specific and Public"]

[Text] We continuously get a relatively large number of letters which point out a very serious abuse--bribery. Of course, only some of the writers bring actual individual cases to our attention. This punishable act does exist, however, and has negative consequences. The various displays of bribery lower people's trust in the state and economic organs and their representatives, violate the principles of equality in the application of laws and justifiable demands, and reduce people's belief in a just legal system.

Recently the number of letters dealing with doctors has increased, pointing out those who misuse their position and demand payment for services or providing medicine. Their truthfulness is confirmed by the results of investigations. For example, the results of an investigation of an anonymous tip about medical doctors B. and C., which was carried out by the Medical Department of the Okres National Committee in Trebisov and the Control Department of the Kraj Institute of National Health in Kosice, with participation by the People's Control Committee of the East Slovakia Kraj National Committee, confirmed that they took payments and repeatedly violated socialist medical ethics.

Patients treated by Dr B. worked on renovating his house. In a private visit to a patient, the doctor offered to "certify" his status as an invalid for Kcs 4,000. Serious discrepancies were also found in recognizing the inability to work. For example, on 4 January 1984 he signed a "not capable of work" statement for a patient from Velke Kapusany, and the same day stated that she would be capable of work starting on 14 January 1984. And Dr B. thought about himself as well. He gave himself "not capable of work" status from May to September 1983 because he had to repair his house...

Dr C. in August and September treated 179 patients in Velke Kapusany, even though his territory was in Kralovsky Chlumec. This violated the territories set up for medical services within the okres. Only a few of the cases were for first aid. Most were for internal medical treatment. He had been advised earlier that his methods were in conflict with the applicable regulations. Despite this, he continued working outside his area. Both doctors were punished for violating work discipline. The directors of the OUNZ [Okres Institute of

National Health] in Trebisov reduced their basic pay in accordance with the regulations (paragraph 77, section d) of the labor law.

Dr G. from the hospital in Znojmo was found guilty of a criminal act for receiving payments. In January 1984 he was sentenced by the okres court in Znojmo to 5 months imprisonment with conditional suspension for 18 months and was also fined Kcs 4,000, with an additional 3 months imprisonment if he did not pay the fine. At the conclusion of the statement about the results of the investigation it was said that the punishment should serve as a warning for all those who want to get rich at the cost of the other citizens through dishonest activities.

Doctors protect people's lives and health. This mission can be carried out only through humanitarianism, love for the work and deep moral convictions. How many people have been returned to normal life thanks to the sacrifices of doctors and medical personnel? It would be hard to say. But, as we have seen, there are some doctors who expect money and other gifts from the patients as a matter of course. Medical ethics is not an empty concept, but an obligation. And all honorable people who have chosen this difficult profession know this.

But let us take a look at another area of bribery. "I am turning to you as a last resort in the hopes that you can rectify an injustice taking place in connection with criminal prosecution against me." That is the first part of a letter by JUDr Josef L. of Prague 10. What was this about? The statement of the general prosecutor, who was requested to investigate the complaint, says that the decision of the okres court in Mlada Boleslav found JUDr Josef L. guilty of the criminal act of graft in accordance with paragraph 161, sections 1 and 2 of the criminal law and planning criminal acts through misuse of the authority of a public official. He was sentenced to a suspended sentence of 10 months, with a probationary period of 2 years.

After an appeal by the okres prosecutor, the kraj court decided to throw out the okres court's decision and without altering the verdict as to the accused's guilt passed an aggregate sentence of 18 months imprisonment, suspended for a probationary period of 3 years. The accused's appeal was rejected as unfounded, but the case, as we shall see, did not end here. Let us take a look at just what was involved.

Josef L. committed a punishable act when he offered the senate chairman of the Prague 4 circuit court, right in the Prague city court building, a bribe of Kcs 12,000 if in the proceedings in the matter of a certain complaint of criminal theft he would drop the charges or find him not guilty of the criminal act which he had performed.

The senate chairman refused the bribe and immediately made the appropriate notification. The CSR Supreme Court also was involved in the case and reached the conclusion that the kraj court had broken the law in favor of the accused in the matter of the sentence for the crime. It therefore annulled the decision and charged the okres court in Mlada Boleslav with trying the whole matter again. In the new trial, the okres court sentenced the accused to 6 months imprisonment with no suspended sentence and placement in a first-category

behavior modification group. This decision was approved. The accused committed his crime at a time when he was a judge and thus in a position where he should have done just the opposite of what he did and thoroughly followed up such proceedings. At that time he offered another judge a bribe, by which he hoped to influence the court's decision in a serious criminal matter. There was therefore no question of suspending the sentence of imprisonment. For these reasons, the complainant's case was dismissed as unfounded.

Letters received also contain the opinions of a number of citizens on bribery. A typical example is the view of Jaroslav H. from Usti and Labem. "It is true that there have been positive changes in people's thinking and behavior and one cannot argue against the social security achieved. But on the other hand, various people sponge off these results and live at the expense of the rest of us. Relics from the past such as petit-bourgeois thinking, parasitism, slovenly work, noninvolvement, egotism, sponging and bribery still exist and lead to a conflict situation between the individual and society. The Letter from the Leadership of CZCP Central Committee points this out as well and calls for intensification of the effectiveness of the struggle against violations of socialist legality, morality and discipline.

"People's greed and desire for material possessions used to be the norm and still exists for some individuals. They try to gain advantages of various types and unjustified rewards at any price. Some people still openly carry on a kind of barter market and for payment they are ready and willing, as well as able, to come up with all kinds of goods and various privileges. But we are not dealing just with payments between persons. This abuse is also carried out by many people as part of the business relationships between enterprises and organizations. Many times it involves not just money, but payment made in various kinds of products which this or that factory produces. The cult of material goods and money is still really a kind of religion for many people, and they therefore deviate toward this antisocial and punishable activity. This abuse can only be done away with by proper efforts on the part of all honest citizens in uncovering it, along with an appropriate and firm approach by the responsible organs."

One of our proverbs says, "Habit is an iron shirt." One could deduce from this that the anachronisms in people's thinking cannot be wiped out all at once. V.I. Lenin wrote about this: "Socialism is not a ready-made system which will make humanity happy. Socialism is a class struggle which goes from one objective today to another tomorrow, which we approach day by day." Educating people is a complex, long-term and not temporarily limited process in which the remnants of the past are weeded out and new, socialist directions of life and thought are instilled. It therefore is not enough that we rage generally against bribery and corruptors, but we have to combat them effectively and expose individual cases specifically and publicly.

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CSO: 2400/35



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON TANK GENERAL PROVIDED

Neubrandenburg FREIE ERDE in German 22 Sep 84 p 4

[Article by Jens Soll: "Raised in the Division; in the 35th Year of the Republic, Worker's Son Franz Erdmann Became a Major General of the NVA"]

[Text] 21 June 1984 is a big day for the Erdmann tank division: on a troop visit to the Armed Forces by the party and state leadership, the tank soldiers prove in defensive and offensive actions that they know how to use effectively their T-72 tanks. At the division commander's military command post come together the lines providing order, inner cohesion and direction to it all.

Major General Franz Erdmann gives his orders in a firm voice; once the attack is under way, short commands suffice. Others in his place might perhaps be excited, nervous, touchy now. But Franz Erdmann exudes calm. The general knows the state of training of his officers, cadets, noncommissioned officers and soldiers very well, knows what he can demand of them, relies on them. Many lines, visible and invisible, connect him with his division, and not only at this moment.

Franz Erdmann has served in it since, 26 years ago, he climbed for the first time into a T-34 in order to learn to drive a tank...

The Right Decision

Because of the steel and machines, Franz Erdmann decided on the tank branch of the service when in 1958 he joined the then young NVA [National People's Army] for 2 years. Afterwards, the son of a car body fitter planned to study mechanical engineering.

Franz Erdmann has remained faithful to the tank steel to this day; he did not take off his uniform in 1960, as those turbulent years also demanded decisions of him. When in June 1961, during war exercises in the FRG, seven Bundeswehr divisions were ready for the "mini-war" against the GDR, the tank driver--accepted meanwhile as a candidate in the SED--committed himself to becoming an officer in the NVA. And when NATO troops in Europe were put on a war footing that summer, he took the officers' examinations early in order to be able to start more quickly service with the troops. He was filled with pride in his branch of the service on 13 August 1961, when tank and motorized infantry units of the NVA, jointly with the battle groups of the working class, put an end to the activities of the enemies of our republic.

Franz Erdmann returned to his division as a second lieutenant, commanded a tank platoon for 3 years, then a company for 4 years. He remembers: "It was of great help to me that, earlier, I had been a tank driver myself. I knew the throbbing of the heart before an exercise, the worry to arrive punctually and dependably without losses after a long march. To this day I have not forgotten the angelic patience with which my first driving instructor, Second Lieutenant Voellmecke, practiced with me starting up on a slope. I sweated a good deal before I succeeded in getting the more than 30 tons of steel up the mountain without first rolling backwards."

#### A Second Hinterland

In 1973, Franz Erdmann temporarily left the division for a second time.

For 2 years, he attended the "Friedrich Engels" military academy, not unusual for a battalion commander. Nonetheless the departure was not easy, for he had become acclimatized in the meantime, not only in the barracks, among his comrades. In 1963 he married his Eva. For 7 years he lived with her and son Heiko, born in 1965, on the attic floor of one of those wooden houses which for a long time had given the location its character. Only recently had they gotten a larger apartment, and now they were supposed to live a "weekend marriage" for 2 years. But they coped with the academy years, also, and Franz Erdmann graduated successfully from the highest military educational institution of the republic.

#### Dependable Friends

In all the ranks through which Franz Erdmann passed in the division, he experienced the firm brotherhood in arms with the Soviet Army. "This began already with my first tank. In the bow plate was a noticeable dent. The Soviet comrades from whom we had taken over the equipment, simply said: 'From a grenade of the Fascists.' This impressed me very much, it was something like a basic experience. I saw what Soviet military technology achieves, and I understood that we in the NVA had to employ the tanks at the side of Soviet soldiers for the protection of our constructive work and a life in peace.

The selfless help of our friends, their great understanding of our problems, the warm and deep friendship have made us into true partners over the years. Today, we often work together in the command post, spur ourselves and our soldiers on to higher achievements."

The Erdmann family also got to know and appreciate Soviet people in everyday life when they lived in Moscow from 1980-1982.

After the lieutenant colonel had proven himself as chief of staff and commander of a tank regiment, he left his division in order to study Soviet military science at the "K.I. Voroshilov" military academy of the general staff of the Soviet Armed Forces. And again it meant persevering study. Franz Erdmann studied problems of strategy and operations and crammed terminology.

Since his return from Moscow, Franz Erdmann heads the very unit where his career began. His life story is a part of division and NVA history, symbolizing the development of a socialist generation of commanders which began in the early years of our worker-and-farmer army.

When the tank attack ends on 21 June, the columns of T-72s, together with armored combat vehicles and artillery weapons, drive to the field meeting. Together with comrades from other branches of the service, special troops and services, the tank soldiers of the Erdmann tank division receive Erich Honecker's thanks for the high awareness, excellent fighting morale, military excellence and the perfect mastery of weapons and battle technique demonstrated on this day. Their commander on the reviewing platform stands amongst their tanks in spirit.

9917

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MYTH OF 'UNIFIED GERMAN CULTURE' AIDS REVANCHISM

East Berlin SONNTAG in German No 43, 21 Oct 84 p 9

[Article by E. Hexelschneider and E. John: "Culture as a Unifying Bond?"]

[Text] Once again it has become the topic of idle chatter in Bonn, the doctrine of the "unified German cultural nation," as a cultural vehicle for keeping alive the "German issue" and cling tight to the unrealistic and peace threatening objective called "reunification." Some time ago, the FRG was compelled most reluctantly to swallow the bitter pill of the existence of two independent and sovereign German states, now the old doctrine--long refuted by the course of history--is being unearthed and freshly polished--as the cultural-historic justification for frankly revanchist claims. This is all the more dangerous because senior FRG politicians are involved in this silly chitchat, not only reporters and ideologues of the mass media and other institutions in the FRG.

It is therefore more than welcome that the Berlin Dietz Verlag is just about to publish a brochure by Erhard Hexelschneider and Erhard John, dealing exhaustively with this doctrine of the "unified German cultural nation."

With the title "Kultur als Einigendes Band?" [Culture as a Unifying Bond?], the authors first of all explain important theoretical statements by Marx, Engels and Lenin on the problem in general and answer basic questions on the nation and national culture from the aspect of Marxism-Leninism. Subsequently they examine the genesis of the doctrine of the "unified culture," provide comments to the concepts "cultural nation" and "nation state," and deal with the issues of linguistics, heritage and literature in terms of the class conflict. In conclusion they prove that the said doctrine acts as a dangerous weapon of nationalism and revanchism. They accomplish this in a very illuminating and concrete manner by the provision of a great deal of information on the treatment of the "German question" at school, for example, and of "cultural efforts in East Germany" by revanchist organizations. This publication is therefore extremely topical in political terms. We are printing an excerpt hereunder, in which the writers deal with the question "how many German literatures are there?"

The dispute about the cultural heritage has now turned into a significant aspect of their class conflict between the two German states. This applies even more [...] to the appraisal of current literary processes. It is not necessarily concerned with the actual numbers of Germanophone literatures but rather with the question whether there is in fact an independent national literature in the socialist GDR.

Socialist German national literature has objectively developed (and continues to develop) to the extent that the revolutionary transformation in the GDR proceeded to turn away from and define itself in contrast to the revanchist imperialist conditions in the FRG. It continues increasingly to operate on the basis of the traditions of German literature before 1945, carrying on its greatest achievements and harking back to the classic literary heritage as much as to the experiences of proletarian-revolutionary literature as a literature with socialist ideological content, a literature of the developed socialist society in the GDR, its socialist national literature. Also displayed here are the close ties with the actual development of society, with the gradual evolution of the socialist nation in the GDR. Literature contributes its specific gifts to the evolution of socialist national consciousness. Bourgeois critics deny precisely this basic fact of historic development [...] In the bourgeois mass media of the 1950's and consonant with the spirit of the "cold war," the order of the day was for the total discrediting of GDR literature. Often it was no longer even considered literature but merely "German literature, section Soviet zone," the "great nothing," inartistic by its very nature. This "being something else" was held to basically distinguish GDR literature from real "German literature," so that even a liberal-minded author such as Hermann Kesten, riding this "wave" of anticommunism and the struggle against totalitarianism, wrote in 1953: "Influenced by Russian realism and the Russian party police, a new literature is indeed arising in the German Democratic Republic. In terms of esthetics and ethics it is frightening, intellectually one-sided to the point of rigidity, politically wretched." [...]

As the next quote shows, this trend of esthetic disparagement continued into the 1970's: "Art in the two parts of Germany has become totally different, because the working artist living west of the German barbed wire smiles pityingly at the products of East German popular art circles." Bourgeois critics objected most to GDR literature's intimacy with other socialist peoples, resulting from the community of interests and objectives. The close alliance with the multinational Soviet literature repeatedly served as the main front of the attacks. As late as 1969, Sabine Brandt--well known for her studies of GDR literature--still said: "The products of socialist realism and communist workers' literature resemble native German output neither with respect to subject matter nor style...There is nothing but a coordinated and monolithic Eastern Bloc literature." [...]

To the extent that imperialist strategy changed in the 1960's and, particularly, the early 1970's and the concept of an "all-German cultural nation" came to the fore, this defamation of GDR literature as antinational was joined by the search for common features: "The Germans in the SBZ [Soviet zone of occupation--authors' comment] are also heirs and partners in occidental culture based on Christianity." [...]

This trend continued in the 1970's. Philipp Dyck observes three basic attitudes in the treatment of GDR literature by FRG scholars and critics:

- "1. On the one hand GDR literature is considered literature within a unified German cultural nation. In this context only that GDR literature is acknowledged as such, which is comparable with FRG literature, so that GDR literature is presented virtually as FRG literature happening to be written in the GDR. On the other hand, some proponents of this line of thought interpret GDR literature...as the relatively independent part of a Germanophone literature. ... 2. The representatives of a reactionary and frankly nationalist literary historiography view GDR literature only from the aspect of its possible use for reactionary political concepts. In this instance, literature is not analyzed in its proper esthetic meaning. 3. Some bourgeois-democratic literary scholars do largely acknowledge GDR literature as an independent literature. However, they consider as the main function of this literature the criticism of the socialist society from antisocialist standpoints; their attitude therefore is also integral to the imperialist concepts of ideological diversion." [...]

The case of Fritz J. Raddatz exemplifies how much the concept of the "unified German literature" is subordinated to pragmatic-political if not cyclical standpoints. In 1972 it appeared as if he--just as many other FRG literary scholars--had "resigned himself" to an independent GDR literature, of course subject to polemics but for the time being to be recognized: "There are two German literatures." In September 1978, Raddatz went back on this interpretation, on the occasion of his address to the supervisory committee "indivisible Germany": "This phrase is now wrong. The difference I tried at that time to analytically define, or the diagnosis stated--applying mainly to GDR literature--is of quite another stripe now--and that is a highly political and highly interesting development. Today we may well speak of a Germanophone literature, including...GDR literature. It would then be shown that these two German literatures run almost incredibly parallel and equal now, and that applies to the aspect of art (and that is very interesting) but also and above all to the diagnosis of the subject matter." °...]

The speeches and articles cited also list the "communities of interests" allegedly existing between the literatures of the GDR and the FRG. These are to effect the convergence of the two literatures. For one this is concerned with political nonconformism in its attitude to the power structures. From the artistic aspect it is said to mean withdrawal to the inner self, an imaginary alienation from the actual society, an increasing feeling for Germany as a whole. Literature in both German states, said Fritz J. Raddatz, had turned into "a literature (almost of a single country), in its expression of suffering, compulsion, distress, in the retreat to the inner self, the individual, subjectivity and personal concerns."

Disregarding that all these interpretations ascribe this "community of interests" on the basis of the work of just a few writers in the two German states and simply make it stand for the whole, another aspect arouses even more reservations. As a few literary efforts from the GDR and, in particular the FRG, demonstrate, there is certainly some drift toward internalization,

coupled with the tendency to individualism, possibly also from a feeling of loneliness and abandonment. That depends on the respective individuality of the author and reflects his psyche and his life situation which may reflect the problems and anxieties of others. Also possible are greater or lesser affinities among individual authors and working references to each other. The history of literature provides many such examples. Just because literature does not exist in a vacuum, the ideas and works of writers are bound to reflect all those problems which stir mankind at the present time: Longing for peace, fear of nuclear war, and so on. The conferences of writers held in Berlin since December 1981 clearly showed that we do indeed share common interests here, and these may well join together in the struggle for the preservation of world peace writers from various backgrounds, very different artistic fingerprints and ideological convictions. [...] However, it is a complete misrepresentation of the facts to deduce from this a "unified German literature."

The facts are these: GDR literature did and continues to develop from the traditions of German literatures and, at the same time, derives inspiration from and celebrates the achievements of other literatures. It has many traditional ties and references to the entire Germanophone literature of the past and the present. However, in its capacity as socialist literature, GDR literature has acquired stronger ties to the literatures of the other socialist countries. As demonstrated in particular by the example of Soviet literature, a new tradition is arising with respect to the literature of the countries of the socialist community, and common international features are emerging. GDR literature is developing its own and unmistakable national profile, characterizing it as part of socialist world literature.

What, then, is the meaning of the propaganda doctrine of a "unified German literature"? This doctrine has two main objectives. For one it is concerned more and more to exploit the so-called nonconformist writers for FRG interests. At the same time authors firmly rooted in the attitudes of socialism are downplayed both politically and artistically. This device is designed to "split" GDR writers. More and more authors are to be recruited for opposition to their society and the SED's cultural policy. One not inconsiderable aspect of these efforts aims, by seductive and enticing methods, to create a kind of "GDR literature in exile," the outstanding task of which is supposed to be criticism of socialism from antisocialist standpoints. Most of all, though, the objective is that of creating or maintaining for international public opinion the image of a "unified German literature," in order to present the FRG as a "cultural state in a changing world." Not least is this to help arouse illusions about a possible reunification and sidetrack the writers anxious about world peace in both German states to divergent or secondary problems. Ultimately this is intended to achieve a split within the peace campaign.

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CSO: 2300/97

BRIEFS

COMMUNIST DISTRIBUTION BY 2020--East Berlin scientist Prof. Erich Hanke has affirmed his opinion that, during the time span of about 2018 to 2026, communist distribution principles can be introduced in the GDR. According to his calculations, which he explained in his controversial book "Into the Next Century," at that time the material prerequisites will be available to "replace today's distribution principle of goods produced by society according to the quantity and quality of the work performed with the principle 'to each according to his needs' in ever larger areas." In a conversation, Prof. Hanke said that the majority of those who had read his book "accepted" the time spans computed by him for the transition to communism and found them "quite realistic." Those who have objections cannot "produce concrete arguments" in order to disprove his calculations. For this reason he continues to stand by his prognoses. In his book, which meanwhile has appeared in a second edition, Prof. Hanke also provides answers to questions such as "when will the Soviet Union surpass the United States?" He comes to the conclusion that in industrial production, the Soviet Union can "catch up" with the United States "by the end of the eighties or the beginning of the nineties." According to his computations, the Soviet Union "will reach" the work productivity of the United States "considerably sooner than the year 2013." Hanke pictures "overcoming" capitalist society in such a manner that even before the year 2000, "further" countries "will break out of the imperialist sphere of influence, others during the first decades of the 21st century." This would increase "the possibility of a revolutionary chain reaction..." Capitalism could be "overcome through heavy armed battles, but also through peaceful means." Hanke considers as not "integrable into a democratic, progressive society advancing to socialism the aggressive circles of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the military-industrial complex," as well as "armaments profiteers, large land owners and incorrigible neo-Nazis." [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 128 29 Aug 84 pp 1-2] 9917

HOMOSEXUALS CHARGE DISCRIMINATION--Homosexuals in the GDR feel discriminated against by tenacious prejudices among the population, as is seen in letters to the editor of the East Berlin journal DEINE GESUNDHEIT [Your Health]. The editor-in-chief of the journal, Prof. Gerhard Misgeld, reacted rather testily to the complaints by homosexuals. Nobody expects absolute mutual



understanding of all other styles of life among people. He asked: "So why do homosexuals demand it for themselves, and meanwhile 'continue to mark time,' as one letter said, as long as society has not created for them a tailor-made land of milk and honey that corresponds to their wishes?" Actually, the party and state leadership has "clarified and enacted into law many points, less through them than for them." This has provided the foundation for the development of interpersonal attitudes from which mutual tolerance may come also with regard to homosexuals, if both sides respected the feelings of the other, rather than hurting them. It is also wrong to put oneself in the position of outsider because of suspected slander and, among other things, to look for non-existent "legal conflicts," according to which homosexuals are disadvantaged. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESBIENST in German No 128 29 Aug 84 p 3] 9917

CHRISTIAN PEACE EFFORT DECLINING--Regional Bishop Hempel of Saxony has expressed his concern that resignation is spreading among young GDR people engaged in peace efforts. Hempel, who is also chairman of the Evangelical Church Conference in the GDR, spoke last Saturday before the synod of his regional church in Dresden. According to Hempel, it has become quiet around the Christian peace activity in GDR churches. As reasons for this development, the bishop cited among other things, the lack of support for peace groups by church bodies and the "critical reserve of state authorities vis-a-vis the church peace effort." Hempel stressed that Christian responsibility for peace is not a fad and therefore must be continued. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Oct 84 p 5] 9917

CHURCH-STATE DIALOGUE MUST CONTINUE--According to East Berlin consistory president Manfred Stolpe, the self-conception of the Evangelical churches in the GDR as "church within socialism" has "proven correct." Even in this society, the church has "its unrenouncable place" and can "accompany society in constructive-critical solidarity by freely promoting what is best in town and village, but also by questioning undesirable developments." Today, everything can be discussed freely between church and state, Stolpe said in a speech before a county synod. Solutions had been found for many problems, such as ministry in penal institutions, new church constructions, and conscientious objection for religious reasons. Negotiations would have to be continued on other problems such as education, legal policy, and construction capacities for the preservation of churches. In the interest of the people, the church and society, "there is no reasonable alternative" to open and factual dialogue between state and church, with mutual willingness to compromise and honest intent of bringing about clarification. Stolpe expressed the wish that "this road, in good and bad days, can be further developed on all levels and in all areas." [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIEWST in German No 155 16 Oct 84 p 3]. 9917

COUNCIL DEMANDS PRISON INSPECTION--An initiative submitted to the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council in Strasbourg by about 20 delegates from the FRG, Switzerland, Austria and Italy demands humane

prison conditions for prisoners in the GDR. It is expected that the assembly will deal with the motion in the form of a draft resolution at its next session early in 1985. In it, the GDR state authorities are called upon "to promptly stop in GDR penal institutions all infractions of articles of the international agreement on civil and political rights, and to guarantee humane treatment of the prisoners." According to the motion, the assembly is to demand that the GDR government permit a delegation of members of the European Council to visit those penal institutions "from which particularly serious infractions of human rights are being reported." [Text] [Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 4 Oct 84 p 8] 9917

CSO: 2300/85

EXCESSES, SHORTCOMINGS OF EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Sep 84 p 10

[Article by Dr Jozsef Rozsa, Section Chief at State Incomes and Employment Office: "Employment Policies--Shortages and Excesses"]

[Text] A complete and rational utilization of society's basic working day is one of the goals of socialist economy that has varying content, but never becomes obsolete. In the years since the liberation, the main task in this regard was to eliminate unemployment, to achieve full employment by employing more and more fully those who are available for work. Since the mid 1970s, a radically new situation has developed: excessive demand for labor and shortages of workers became general. The exhaustion of sources of workers gave also an objective emphasis to increasing production by means of productivity.

There are those who think that satisfying the two requirements--full and efficient employment--at the same time is an illusion. It would be an illusion if we thought that satisfying them simultaneously without conflict could be done. It cannot. In what follows, I would like to express a few thoughts on the possible harmonization of full and efficient employment.

"External" Reserves

Because of the chronic shortage of workers, many are of the opinion that in regard to employment we have reached the top. Large parts of the sources of workers have indeed been exhausted; full employment of men was achieved long ago, and of women in the past decade. In spite of this, there is still a significant "external" reserve--those who are not yet or are no longer part of the work force.

The present system for employing retired persons is generally considered good by both enterprises and retirees. On the basis of requests made to the employment office, however, we can see that many retired persons would like to undertake work, but cannot find meaningful employment that is appropriate, near their home, etc. The Employment Services Office of Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen megye measured the number of requests for so-called "human" services and the number willing to do such work at the beginning of this year. Almost 500 retirees reported that they were ready to care for the sick, watch children,

perform cultural services, etc. Most of them were not able to find work for lack of demand.

Another stratum of this kind is those who work at home. The number of at-home workers has been decreasing for years, whereas many are looking for this kind of work. There are few possibilities for work, and the demand for this type on the part of enterprises and cooperatives is small.

In the recent past, some megyes have reported to a government organization about the situation of the youth. In this context they touched on the question of the several thousand 15-19-year old youths who are healthy, but not working and not studying. Most of these are in a few districts of the country, mainly communities in Szabolcs and Borsod megyes, principally female workers, who are not willing to commute, and are looking for local or nearby work, but no one is able to offer such work to them. The things mentioned above are just examples to illustrate the fact that though full employment has been achieved, there is still a reserve work force that can be mobilized. Of course it will not be simple to mobilize it; it will require many kinds of efforts, most of all flexible forms of organization of work on the part of the enterprises.

In our country women are fully employed in the sense those available for work are generally able to find positions corresponding to their education and training. Because of the mostly traditional division of labor within families, more tasks fall on women than on men. The simultaneous accomplishment of both family and work-place functions is not without disturbances. But I think that the necessity of fulfilling this dual function will not change fundamentally in the near future; therefore there will be a need for more flexibility in resolving conflicts between family and work-place tasks. This demand will show up in the form of expanded employment of at-home and part-time workers and application of flexible work schedules in a broad area.

#### Shortage of Production

A contradiction in the employment economy that has been appearing for years is the simultaneous occurrence of shortages and excesses. The fact of irrational employment is not generally recognized by employers. It is doubtless that in the circumstances of today's organization and management as well as of supply of materials, a certain degree of hoarding of work force is inevitable, just as with other means of production. Many signs point to the existence of internal, "in-house" reserves. It is well known that in industry and construction the possibility opened up for introducing a 40-hour week, shortening the working day, beginning 1 January of this year. Half of the enterprises went to the shorter work time almost immediately after 1 January, and by 1 July more than 90 percent of them had shortened the work time. The size of the work-time reduction is not large, but it amounts to 3-4 percent of the basic working time, which is not too small. So industry was able to come up with ways of maintaining production without special difficulties.

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the 115,000 youths starting their careers. There is room to be selective. At the same time, this possibility of selectivity will produce strange results in certain agreements that are to be negotiated in the labor market place. In principle, the employment relationship has two partners with equal rights: it comes into existence between the employer and the worker. If there is a shortage of workers, then logically the position of the employer weakens, and he cannot (dares not) make demands. With this is also connected the fact that workers who temporarily cannot be justified are not transferred out, but are paid wages even when they don't work.

In relation to the level of productivity and the rate of growth, our situation is not favorable. The productivity of work does not even reach half that of the developed capitalist countries. At the beginning of the 1980s, production--for many reasons--rose by 1-3 percent annually, while personnel decreased by 1-2 percent, so that productivity rose by 3-4 percent annually. At the same time--if requirements resulting from competitiveness of the products (or unit cost of production) are taken into account--it would need to rise by at least 6-7 percent annually. The decisive source of this is technical development and technology, but work organization, work-time utilization and needed out-placement of workers must also receive a role in this.

#### Different Forints

Economists are expecting much from the changes in the system of economic direction being introduced 1 January 1985. Among these I would mention first the reduction or elimination of the differences between the different "wage forints." On the basis of measurements made in some enterprises, it is possible to estimate how much expense the various forms of employment represent to the enterprise and how much of that appears in the market as personal income.

#### Wage Costs and Personal Income

<u>Type of employment</u>	<u>Enterprise cost forints per hour</u>	<u>Personal income forints per hour</u>
Self-employment	50	30
VGMs [work associations]	90	60
Borrowed from collectives	130	50
Foreign	250	70

It is well known that today approximately 40-50 forints can be paid out as wages for every 1,000 forints saved on expenses. Changing regulations on income will make it possible for enterprises in certain areas to raise the 40-50 forints mentioned significantly.

The valuation and weight of production factors in the cost of production is changing, and the cost of labor is increasing. This increase cannot appear in the form of wages, however, because there is no production to cover

it. In our country, labor is relatively cheap, but production is also relatively low. According to calculations of the KSH [Central Statistical Office], the full--that is, social--cost of our live labor (as a share of the gross national product) is not much below that of the developed West European capitalist countries (here 53 percent, West Germany 56 percent, while in Turkey, for example, 25 percent), whereas the productivity is much lower.

In harmony with all regulation, the change in income regulation and its effect on management of the work force are of great significance. But there will be a definitive change only when producers are more differentiated according to profits or taxes. Workers should normally move away from places where efficiency is low. The contradictory situation of recent years is well illustrated by the fact that out-placement of workers from enterprises belonging to the so-called "low productivity sphere" has not even been considered. Just the opposite: they have tried intensively to increase their numbers.

The basis for employment policy for the future continues to be: full and efficient employment. It is true that full employment is more a task for the state and efficient employment more for the enterprises. But the enterprises must naturally also participate in full employment. At the same time, the creation of operating conditions that force efficient employment is a task for the state.

Full employment provides social insurance for economically hard times and improves conditions generally. These are values that must be protected unconditionally. Some of the capitalist countries are trying to increase real wages when nearly a fourth of the active population is unemployed. On the basis of demographics, our source of workers will still become narrower for a few more years. This also speaks in favor of raising productivity and maintaining full employment. But avoidance of unemployment does not represent social insurance to those who do not respect their jobs and who perform their work carelessly. It is necessary that a spirit of competition develop in which people strive to increase productivity because of internal motivation and because of material interests. If anything, this is the true individual and national economic interest.

9611

CSO: 2500/34

# TRAINING OF WORKERS AT HUNGARIAN COMPANIES

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 18 Oct 84 p 7

[Two part article by Dr Judit Varnyai and tes: "Without Teachers or Teaching Materials"]

[Text] Of the blue collar workers in industry, 40 percent are factory-trained workers. The enterprises do not pay sufficient attention to the training of newly hired workers or to the retraining of older workers; the requisites for successful training are lacking. When new manufacturing processes are initiated, it is an exception when group training is organized.

In analyzing the training practices of the enterprises studied,<sup>1</sup> the most important lessons were summarized in a table which revealed, without specific comments, that semi-skilled training by the enterprises is the stepchild of being trained for a trade.

The efficiency of the training largely depends on whether the logical sequence of the phases of training is being followed and whether the training program and method are adequate. Of course, there are simple jobs where a simple demonstration of how it is done is enough but, in the enterprises included in our sample--in our opinion at least in 10 of them--it would be more effective to supplement the demonstration with expert explanation, the provision of an appropriate chance and time for practice, supervision to spot and correct mistakes, and evaluation.

Written or illustrative study material is available in only four enterprises. The others have not prepared such things even for their own use because they are so accustomed to the traditional, demonstration-type training that the idea of changing this practice has not even come up.

In only three cases could the circumstances of the training be judged adequate (where they also had a training workshop) while in four enterprises, instruction went on in the production workshop but in a

1. The studies were conducted by members of the Labor Research Institute at 26 industrial enterprises, on the basis of case studies and informations obtained from the enterprises. The summary conclusions of the study will appear soon in the series: "Labor Studies."

separated area. In the rest of the enterprises, training was conducted in the production workshops where learning was greatly hindered by crowding and noise. Gaining a thorough and complete knowledge of the work process was replaced by the teaching of whatever work process was in progress whereby training was protracted disturbing the continuity of production.

Full-time instructors were employed by only 3 of the 26 enterprises. In the others, in addition to the older workers, the task of providing on site training fell on the group or brigade foremen who are already overloaded with the operative tasks. The trainer not only must be an expert at the task, but an adequate psychological and pedagogical aptitude also should not be overlooked. Today, there is no attention paid especially to the latter conditions. The assignment of workers to do the training is done, at best, solely on the basis of expertise while theoretical preparedness, general intelligence, a pedagogical sense and ease of expression were not viewed as selection criteria in any of the enterprises, especially because it is not easy to find people willing to do the training.

We cannot consider the general practice reassuring that the worker assigned to do the training does it out of "decency" and does not receive regular compensation. Of the 26 enterprises studied, only 8 give regular bonuses in the sum of 200 to 500 forints per month and in 2 enterprises, the pay of the trainer is 10 to 40 percent of his wages. (This problem seems to have been resolved in the majority of the light-industry enterprises which employ many factory-trained workers. We can also encounter incentives there whereby workers who provide training in addition to their regular work receive 20 to 40 percent wage bonuses which, after a certain time, is also tied to the achievements of his trainees.) The practice of occasional bonuses was most characteristic of the machine industry enterprises. In essence, this meant that, if the bonus fund made it possible, the foreman gave a bonus for training instruction but if the funds were low, training instruction became an obligation. Such an eventual reward is not a sufficient incentive toward conscientious training instruction even if the foreman guarantees that the instructor will not fall behind with his own work.

Testing for aptitude would be the basis, the starting point of training instruction promising success. This possibility is being taken advantage of at fewer and fewer places and, recently, the credibility of the tests has also come under questioning as a result of the "inconsistent labor force management." It can also be charged to the neglected aptitude testing and to testing done using outdated methods that many quit their job after the training thereby causing significant losses to the enterprise.

Training is made more problematic because this task does not belong in an organized way to anyone at the enterprises. It is a mere dream, for instance, that a group consisting of a psychologist, sociologist, economist, engineer and foreman would work out the aptitude testing criteria,



the training programs and the various aspects of selecting and preparing the instructors. Training at the work place is an internal matter for the enterprises and, therefore, it is natural that its organization is varied. And yet it should be considered whether it would not be useful to work out methodological guidelines for occupations employing a relatively large number of workers, which in turn could be taken advantage of on a voluntary basis.

Regulation 3 (4 May 1983) ME, dealing with the introduction of supports for retraining, which came into force in June 1983, represents new possibilities and also new responsibilities for the enterprises. In terms of this regulation, the training of new workers for a job and the training of skilled workers, or every course leading to intermediate or higher expertise in a skilled job, qualifies as retraining.

The regulation provides the enterprises with the opportunity to transfer to the state budget part of their expenses stemming from the retraining of workers, including the training of new workers. The flexible wording of the regulation--in accordance with its goals--makes possible a contribution to the costs of organized regroupings within the labor force, and yet, the enterprises have failed so far to fully exploit these possibilities. The expected modification of the regulation will presumably meet with greater interest on the part of the employers.

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Some Characteristics of the Training of New Workers at the 26 Enterprises Studied

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Designation	Number of enterprises answering "Yes"
Is there a training program?	4
Are there defined study materials, resources, illustrations?	4
Are the circumstances of the training adequate?	7
Does the instructor receive a bonus?	8
Do the instructors undergo preparation?	2
Are there full-time instructors?	3
At the end of the training, is its success evaluated?	23
Are the leading techniques discussed?	2

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Let us study the above tabulated summary once more. At most of the 26 enterprises studied, there is neither a training program nor suitable instruction materials, nor resources, nor independent instructors, nor an assigned--sufficiently prepared and also materially compensated--"instructor." At the majority of the 26 enterprises studied, training and retraining are obligatory, reluctantly performed routine jobs because--what is all that good for?

Because the incentive for modern training would be a planned regrouping of the labor force, this is all the more reason for not paying attention to well thought-out and rationally organized training and retraining courses. And the incentive for regrouping the labor force would be the modernization of the product structure. A change in structure--as a valid and generalized project--is not even discussed (disregarding now the reasons within, and independently from the enterprises); although, in this case, even a more extensive regrouping of the labor force could be avoided; but then why the pain of changing the long outdated training methods? Whoever happens to be needed--skilled expert or newly trained worker--can be "gotten" somehow from the labor force market, and if not--then not.... At the most, there is a further surge in the flood of complaints from the enterprises about the "scarce labor force situation."

Let us look back at the last line of the table: "Are the leading techniques (obviously purchased abroad) discussed?" Yes, they do discuss them at 2 of the 26 enterprises studied...

And who discusses them at these two enterprises? Are they the Hungarian "training instructors" who had been trained at the foreign enterprises which export the "leading technique?" Or are they the best skilled worker experts who had been trained by the enterprises abroad? Or are they the engineers who, commissioned by the domestic enterprise which imports the "leading technique," had a chance to study, for a relatively long time, the adaptation possibilities and requirements of this technique at the company which exports the technique? Hardly! At these two enterprises, only members of the highest-ranked leadership could take on the role of primary instructor. Namely, in the case of purchasing techniques or cooperative production with Western enterprises, the enterprise managers can travel, confer and study while enterprise requests dealing with the travel of subordinate employees are invariably refused. We know about it through another study, by the Labor Research Institute, involving the analysis of the adaptation problems associated with the purchase of technologies, from the aspect of labor force management.

Thus, the training--at our enterprises--is as bad as it is not merely because of the lack of a teaching program, study material, resources and suitable circumstances, but also because of the scarcity of a group of instructors--trained abroad, in certain cases. Because essentially no one is interested in all of this. Namely, it costs money...

2473

CSO: 2500/64

# TACTICS IN IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Oct 84 pp 3,4

[Interview with Prof Sylwester Zawadzki, chairman of the Team of Party Lawyers functioning at the Central Committee of the PZPR, by Wieslaw S. Debski]

[Text] In our series of interviews with chairmen of party teams of social sciences attached to the KC PZPR, we spoke so far with Prof Jan Baszkiewicz, political scientist, Wladyslaw Kwasniewicz, sociologist, Marian Leczyk, historian, Jerzy Ladyka, philosopher, and Witold Sierpinski, economist. Today we present a conversation with Prof Sylwester Zawadzki, chairman of the Team of Party Lawyers functioning at the KC PZPR.

[Question] In June of this year a conference of party lawyers took place during which you evaluated, among other things, the achievement of the legal sciences. What is the contribution of your group to the forty year period of People's Poland?

[Answer] Just as it is a fact that a historical advancement of People's Poland has taken place in the total of the actions realized in our country under the leadership of the PZPR in the past forty years, though not without hesitations, meanderings and distortions, the contribution of legal sciences to this achievement is also an irrefutable fact.

During the first, postwar period, legal sciences participated in the socio-economic reforms that were being carried out; in the shaping of the foundations of the new system in Poland. The unification of the law was an extremely important task of that period, which was closely connected with the entrenchment of Polishness in the western territories. The secularization of public life was of essential importance from the point of view of shaping the socialist system of law. In the 60's, the legal sciences participated in the preparation of the modern codification, the adjustment of criminal and civil law, labor law and administrative procedure to the assumptions of the socialist system. Representatives of legal sciences also made an important contribution to the improvement of the conceptions and forms of the functioning of the parliament, people's councils, the system of justice, various forms of self-government and other forms of citizens' participation in the governing of the state.

Particularly visible is the contribution of lawyers after 1980, when the legal base of the socialist renewal was created. I am thinking both about the shaping of the legal principles of the economic reform, introducing basic principles in the process of socioeconomic planning and the management of the economy, and about the creation of the Supreme Administrative Court and the Tribunal of State. All these are new guarantees of socialist law and order.

Besides traditional divisions of legal sciences, such as criminal law, civil law and administrative law, in the 40-year period new spheres have been formed, such as denominational law, labor law, agricultural law, and others. The number of legal workers increased in the legal sciences from 150 in the interwar period to 1350 now, thus nine times over. At each of the faculties of Law and Administration of Warsaw, Krakow, Poznan, and Wroclaw the number of legal workers is larger than at all the law faculties in the interwar period.

The indisputable achievement of the scientific legal cadre in People's Poland is the education of over 40 thousand lawyers performing now the functions of judges, prosecutors, legal counselors, and employees of the judiciary and administration.

[Question] This, however, does not mean that during the conference only the positive things were discussed, and the serious weaknesses of legal sciences, particularly in the ideological sphere, were overlooked...

[Answer] Of course. There have been periods of instrumental treatment of law, a primitive understanding of the connection between politics and law, between theory and practice, which resulted in the phenomenon of conformism and as a consequence, insufficient concern for guarding the socialist state against deformations.

Serious disproportions between the development of scientific studies, namely the cognitive function of legal sciences, and their ideological function were pointed out. This was one of the reasons why in the beginning of the 80's, social sciences, including legal sciences, did not resist the pressure of antisocialist forces and were incapable not only of an offensive attitude but also faintly marked their role in the defense of Marxist and prosocialist positions. Lawyers did not sufficiently oppose attempts at the impairment of socialist law and order, unilateral treatment of civic rights, overlooking of interdependency between rights and obligations. The political positions of the party in the faculties of Law and Administration and the position of Marxism in legal science was visibly weakened.

[Question] What were the causes of this?

[Answer] It seems to me that we were not prepared for such a sudden and such an unscrupulous attack. The opposition turned to the slogans of democracy,

social justice, and law-abidingness. In many instances postulates, formulated earlier by representatives of the progressive Marxist trend, were put forward, thus hindering, particularly in the initial phase of the crisis, orientation as to the adversaries' far-reaching intents. The strategic goal of this campaign was to shake the moral foundations of the authorities and socialist law. There also is no doubt that during that important test weaknesses in the ideological sphere became fully evident. It was connected, among other things, with neglecting research on the axiological plane, with an instrumental attitude toward law which in many cases took no account of the socialist system of values, with narrow pragmatism, with limiting the range of ideological work in the scientific milieu (as in the party in general) and with the weakness of scientific criticism.

[Question] All this had an impact on splitting the milieu. How do you evaluate the situation among the scientific cadre today?

[Answer] I must say that the most difficult situation of the years 1981-82 is behind us. The time when the influence of the opposition was strong and when our model of the political system was particularly attacked is over. A serious change in attitudes, a process of normalization of life in the country, has had its influence on the consolidation of prosocialist attitudes. Members of the party and political associations, PRON activists and all those who support the program of socialist renewal constitute today an important force, particularly among the independent cadre. They involve themselves in the research work of their universities and in the students' education and upbringing. They serve the authorities and societies with their opinions and expertise. This marked itself particularly strongly in the work of the Legislative Council. The changes which are taking place in the attitudes of the scientific workers also became evident in the election of the university government. It does not mean, however, that the milieu lacks people who are connected in a more or less visible way with the circles of antisocialist opposition.

Finally, there is a large group of people waiting for the further developments and who are under a certain moral pressure, fearing accusations of "collaboration."

An interview given by Prof A. Stelmachowski in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (No 40/1984), in which he accused all those who joined the constructive actions on behalf of socialist renewal of defection from the "principal mission" and defense of "basic values," was an example of exerting such a pressure.

[Question] What actions ought to be taken to strengthen the prosocialist orientation among the scientific cadre and students and to consolidate the positions of Marxism in the research and development of legal sciences?

[Answer] We consider the strengthening of party organizations on law faculties and in scientific-research institutes to be of the greatest importance among political actions.

Party organizations, if they want to assure a greater effectiveness in their actions, must demand with a growing consistency that their members observe the party line adopted at the Ninth Congress. There can be no room for those who want to play it safe and those who sit astride, play it safe both ways. We cannot accept a situation that a person attacked can count only on himself, because others do not have the courage to defend him.

Party organizations cannot accept attempts to convert scientific discussions into political rallies, in which those who shout louder and outdo others in politically hostile pronouncements are the ones that are right.

At the same time, the line of battle against the enemies of socialism requires that allies be gained in this battle. A large part of the employees who currently are not involved wait for an initiative to join the realization of the constructive program of action. Such programs constituting the plane of understanding are indispensable and ought to apply to the development of the whole legal science, its particular disciplines, and to solutions of various problems of the university.

The experiences of party organizations from the period of university elections prove that the possibilities of strengthening their positions and gaining allies are greater than it appeared not so long ago from so unusually pessimistic evaluations of the situation. Where the forces of the extreme tried to continue the confrontational course, as for example in the Faculty of Law and Administration of the Adam Mickiewicz University, they received a decisive defeat in the elections to the faculty government.

[Question] What should be the direction of actions in the ideological sphere?

[Answer] A classic example of an ideological dispute in legal sciences making its appearance in all the disciplines and the legal practice is the dispute over human rights. Not only the understanding of particular rights and their class content, but the question of their hierarchy play a fundamental role in the ideological confrontation in the contemporary world. The polemic with antisocialist views in this regard needs to be considerably intensified. Among other topics of great ideological significance, one can include, for example, the problems of socialist democracy; the problems of the mechanics of power in the socialist state, particularly with relation to attempts at a mechanical transfer of the free play of political forces onto a political system based on a socialized ownership of the means of production, thus negating the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party; the relation of self-government to the socialist state; the problems of the legitimization of power in People's Poland; the consequences of one-sidedness in the interpretation of law and socialist law-abidingness.

The above-mentioned examples concern only central ideological questions in the legal sciences, and certainly not all of them. The debates around these

problems cannot be treated only as disputes among scientists, because one-sidedness in interpreting these questions has a bearing on the consciousness of law students, the future judges, prosecutors and lawyers. At the same time a lack of reaction on the part of legal sciences to the attempts at interpretations from antisocialist positions has a negative bearing on the process of shaping the legal consciousness of society.

It is obvious that ideological tasks of legal sciences can be fulfilled only when there is a development of their cognitive function on the basis of Marxist methodology. For scientific discussions are necessary for the development of the science. Our conference emphasized that the task of party members is to come up with such initiatives, to prepare for them thoroughly, to transfer their results to students scientific circles, and to be ready for a polemic with non-Marxist directions.

[Question] What must be done to strengthen the cooperation of legal sciences in practice?

[Answer] The legal milieu has many reasons to view with great appreciation the political-economic reforms of 1981-1983. Many systemic changes constitute a realization of postulates submitted by the legal milieu. The considerable legislative achievement of that period cannot, however, obscure the many weaknesses and lack of cohesion of the legal system. A need for an all-round evaluation of the status of the current system of law and formulation of a long-range program of legislative actions and a program of sorting out the law, aimed at a further reduction of legal regulations, comes forward in this situation. This kind of task was set by the chairman of the Council of Ministers before the Legislative Council, which will be able to acquit itself of it under the condition that a wide body of representatives of the legal science and practice will be included in these actions. Important tasks connected with the work on the draft of a statute on the Constitutional Tribunal and a draft of a statute on the creation of law, are before us.

It is very important to raise the level of teaching at law faculties, in order to secure cadres of professionals for responsible functions in the organs of administration and legal protection of the socialist state. The development of socialist democracy and law-abidingness requires the active participation of our milieu in the raising of the legal culture of society. In my opinion, we must convert the common complaints about the phenomena of social pathology into an active participation of citizens in combating these negative phenomena. This can be achieved not only through passing on knowledge about the systemic institutions, but also by shaping an involved attitude toward these institutions and an active participation of citizens in their functioning. An appropriate legal education of society is of enormous practical significance. The respect for the state and its institutions, and the knowledge of law, promote rational actions.

The preparations for the Third Congress of Polish Science constitute an extremely important opportunity for overcoming the current difficulties of the legal sciences and for raising their rank. We expect that it will bring a formulation of the basic directions of development of our science and an intensification of its relations to practice, resulting in a greater contribution of the legal sciences to the overcoming of the social and economic difficulties and the establishment of a line of understanding in the scientific milieu.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12270

CSO: 2600/122



## OBJECTIVES OF WEST'S PEACE MOVEMENT QUESTIONED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 16, 7 Oct 84 p 7

[Article by Janusz Reiter: "Missiles Into Ploughshares"]

[Text] Bertrand Russell would deserve the gratitude of pacifists even if all he had left them was the following anecdote. "I once had a donkey which I kept in a shed. One day a fire broke out in the shed. Several strong men worked hard to drag the donkey out and lead it to safety. Left alone, the donkey would have frozen with fear and burnt to death." The situation of the super-powers today is very similar, Russell claimed.

The followers of the West European peace movement do not doubt that it is them who have been cast in the unrewarding part of the strong men trying to save the "donkey"--as the Western countries should be called according to Russell's anecdote--from fire, i.e. the arms race. Theirs is the part of rescuers whose services no one wants. True enough, their noble intentions are not questioned, but some people suspect that in the ardor of the rescue campaign, the rescuers themselves may start a fire. Pacifism, as we will (with a measure of oversimplification) call the West European peace movement, is one of the most fascinating phenomena of the contemporary Western world, it has only a modest counterpart on the Eastern side. This loose coalition of people of diverse backgrounds, parties and religious communities is united by a common sense of menace. That part of the press which is unfriendly towards these people speculates on the international links of pacifism, but what really matters is that it has a powerful ally in the fear of war, which is spreading to increasingly broad segments of Western societies.

Although fear is a bad advisor, the pacifists attribute miraculous action to it--whoever feels endangered starts looking for help, which may lead him to the peace movement. The critical observers see it differently--according to them, there is too much emotion and too little thought in the pacifist recipe for peace. In their striving for absolute peace, the pacifists are indicating the most dangerous road--the renunciation of arms in a world which does not intend to heed them at all. "Behave as if peace depended entirely on you," says one theoretician of the peace movement. His is a false assumption; in the nuclear era, peace depends on all those who can disrupt it. The traditional deterrence theory rests on the assumptions that both sides have such powerful means of destruction that neither can dream of winning a war.

The very power of nuclear weapons is to prevent their use; it has indeed acted to this effect for more than 30 years now.

The pacifists are a difficult partner for the political elite of the Western world. They reject not only the views, but also the entire philosophy of the official policy of security. Although they influence governments and parliaments, they refuse to be involved in the circles of traditional politics. Even the West German Greens, who have seats in the Bundestag and in the Landstage, take care to preserve their status as outsiders. That is one reason why it is so difficult to assess their real influence on the thinking of Western societies. The number of demonstrators picketing U.S. military bases is as poor an indicator as election returns. The peace movement also has followers in the ranks of other parties, especially among the Social Democrats.

So the decisive factor is not membership of an organization, but the views professed. The spread of the pacifist style of thinking is reflected in the results of one poll on this subject conducted in Western Europe. The poll showed that 26 percent [of] West Germans were opposed to the use of force even if their country was attacked. The same view was expressed by 28 percent Dutchmen, 33 percent Italians and as many as 44 percent Frenchmen. British historian Michael Howard coolly comments on this refusal to defend oneself: "The societies which accept violence will be able to subjugate the ones which reject the use of force" [retranslated].

The warning against the loss of freedom may be heeded only by those who consider their freedom (understood as the Western model of democracy) to be deserving defense. West European pacifists do not seem certain that it really is so. Many of them link pacifism with a critical attitude towards capitalism and a yearning for a brave new world. Perhaps this world would not be built on the model which exists east of the Elbe, but, most important, it would have to be different from the one offered on the other side of the Atlantic.

Anti-Americanism is an inalienable component of the pacifist style of thinking; it is present in nearly all the left ideologies of Western Europe. It is true that Ronald Reagan is the perfect antagonist for the pacifist left, but this does not explain the phenomenon of anti-Americanism.

In the eyes of the West European left, the United States is the incarnation of evil in this world, the stronghold of reaction and a barrier to progress. It is the United States which prevents the sort of changes desired by the radical left. So it is no wonder that a lot of people in West Germany seriously claim that their country is under American occupation. One of the mildest varieties of unfriendliness towards the Americans is the so-called equal distance theory, for which the citizens of West Germany seem to have a special liking. [----] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment Article 2, Sub-Paragraph 3 (Dziennik Ustaw No 20, Item 99, amended: 1983 Dziennik Ustaw No 44, Item 204)]. In a poll last year, as many as 47 percent West Germans wanted their country to cooperate with the USSR on the same basis as with the United States. This is another manifestation of the equal distance theory, although this is a positive one. Anyway, the distance turns out to be not quite equal when one inspects the situation from close quarters. While the image of

both superpowers is presented in dark colors, America is often depicted entirely in black. Younger people especially with a university education are inclined to lay the responsibility for international tensions on American rather than Soviet armaments. Peaceful intentions are generally ascribed to the Soviet Union, while America is suspected if not of aggression, then of dangerous lightheartedness.

The problem who threatens peace is, according to this school of thinking, of secondary importance. The actual danger does not result from the policies of one state or another, aggressively seeking ways to exert their will upon others. It is nuclear weapons stocked in the East and West that are dangerous for the world since they can provoke a conflict through simply being deployed there. In the apocalyptic visions of the future that pacifists envisage, the spark igniting huge nuclear attacks springs from an unknown place, the identification of which is both impossible and useless once the lethal blows have been exchanged, and missiles with nuclear warheads have been fired at their targets, this is the logic of the arms race. The atomic bomb, constructed by man, gets out of control, and finally destroys its creator. If we want to avoid destruction--we have to destroy the atomic weapons themselves--concludes the author.

The thesis that the nuclear catastrophe cannot be avoided may be believed but it cannot be proved. He, who believes it, has to draw some important conclusions. If it is the future of mankind that is at stake then according to pacifist theories, no price is too high.

Even the taking away of one's freedom, suggested by enemies of peace movements, seems to be a slight risk, especially as it is considered a propaganda bogey, put up by conservatist politicians. Living among missiles launchers poses a real danger--claim pacifists. They are like magnets attracting missiles. As a result, pacifists are advocating unilateral disarmament; the fewer weapons the smaller the danger of attack.

This is the source of the popularity of so-called non-atomic zones of peace-zones, especially in Scandinavian countries and in the Bundesrepublik. West German pacifists would like this zone extended into East Germany to jointly contribute to the building of peace. Followers of the peace movement claim that the danger feared by the two German states makes them equally responsible for peace. (....) The voicing of neutrality has a long tradition in West Germany. Some social democrats are still carrying on this tradition today. The problem is raised occasionally in discussions regarding West Germany's membership in NATO.

West German pacifists provide a praiseworthy example--say peace movement critics. This example teaches us that people ready to save the world against the world itself, guided by a sense of some mission, are extremely dangerous. The neutralization of Germany would defend it against nuclear destruction and indirectly consolidate peace in Europe. In fact, however, it would increase the threat hanging over Germany and Europe. West Germany's resignation from NATO--the idea advanced by radical pacifists and some leading SPD members--and the sending home of U.S. soldiers stationed on the Rhine, would entirely change the situation in Europe.

Disarmament serves security provided it is a gradual transition from one to the other and not a desperate step into the unknown. If, all of a sudden, a big power decided to turn missiles into plowshares--as those who sympathize with peace movements wish--international relations would drift into chaos. Both the partners and enemies of such a power would consider the move to be a madness that would attract condemnation and not praise.

Pacifists' indignation is understandable. The thought that the world is stuffed with atomic bombs, capable of destroying mankind several times over has to arouse fear. The argument that it is this giant power that protects the world against a large scale conflict, sounds a cynical joke. Pacifists demand clear situations; either atomic bomb or peace. Nobody can tell for sure whether this is a real alternative. Nuclear weapons avert the danger of the outbreak of war in some paradoxical way. Conventional weapons, on the other hand, look innocent vis-a-vis a nuclear stockpile but they have a fault, namely they are designated to conduct wars and not prevent them. Nuclear disarmament would free people of the danger of nuclear death, dooming them instead to more serious danger of conventional death. This would not be an advantageous replacement taking into account the present state of technology.

Peace movements deserve credit for constantly reminding us that peace is not a permanent state. To be effective the pacifists' utopia would have to be universal--which is out of the question in the contemporary world. This is where its weakness lies. "It is easy to praise peace yet it is not enough. Active participation in the fight against war and all that leads to war is essential." Einstein can be referred to by both pacifists and their enemies. But what does all this mean in the world anno domini 1984? Perhaps it is the right time for the fight for peace to be restarted.

CSO: 2600/150

## ATTITUDES, ACTIVITIES OF YOUTH ANALYZED

## Socio-Political Views

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 42, 14 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by M.A. and J.S.: "Yes and No"]

[Text] Many, often contradictory, opinions and rough guesses are spread about what young people, particularly the young intelligentsia, think about the country's socio-political situation, how they assess the state of the Polish economy and prospects and chances to overcome the current crisis; and also how they see their own role in the process of socio-economic transformations and what forms of social activity they opt for.

Studies carried out last January and February by the Institute for Studying the Problems of the Young, directed by Dr Bozena Czyzkowska of the Research Center for Studying the Young Intelligentsia, offer interesting observations. The study embraced young people from intelligentsia circles, born in the period between 1948 and 1965 (a sample of 935 people). The results obtained were then compared to the results of the identical poll among samples of working-class, peasant and self-employed tradesman youth. Although one should treat the results of such studies with caution, nevertheless they do present a certain approximate picture of the moods and opinions of the respondents representative of their respective environments, and based on facts. In the editors' opinion, it can contribute to a discussion on the young generation.

One result that is concrete and worthy of quoting is the fact that the respondents firmly opt for the fundamental principles of the socialist system, especially for the social ownership of the means of production (74.7 percent of the young intelligentsia and 74.9 percent of the youth from other communities), and for the principle of rewarding "everybody according to the effects of his work" (79.4 percent and 8 percent respectively).

However, the latter also provokes comments from young representatives of the intelligentsia, because in their opinion, "non-productive" work is paid too little considering the people's skills.

A considerable proportion of the young accept the existing systemic model, the system of exercising power and the principle of the workers' party's leading role in the country, if at the same time social control is exercised

by trade union and self-government organizations. Some of the respondents think the Western system of parliamentary democracy is the most desirable, yet two-thirds of them think it is unrealistic [in Polish conditions].

The youths polled are critical of the current process of reform and transformations, charging it with ineffectiveness and failure to meet social expectations. For example, 82.9 percent of the young representatives of the intelligentsia (85.4 percent of students) and 71.3 percent of the young people representing other strata believe that "the economic and social chaos in Poland has not been overcome." The positive majority of the respondents observe a return to the centralistic system of management.

The majority of the respondents do not find sufficient symptoms of the improving economic situation and emergence from the crisis. This is the opinion of 69.6 percent of the young intelligentsia (71.9 percent of students) and of 58 percent of the remaining respondents. Answers to the questions about the implementation and effects of the economic reform show that, according to the majority of the respondents, the present reform, and especially the methods of its implementation and its economic effects are disappointing. The respondents attribute the absence of economic and social results of the reform to irregularities in its implementation and to deformations of its targets in economic practice. Fifty-eight and five-tenths percent of the young intelligentsia and a half of the respondents from other circles believe that "the economic reform has been deformed in practice." As many as 82.4 percent of the young intelligentsia believe that price increases are the result of the reform, while the same reform has not mobilized a substantial growth in production. A considerable proportion of the respondents attribute the present failures of the reform to the old centralized system of distributing raw and intermediary materials. At the same time, the vast majority of the respondents demand that the reform be perfected through relating salaries to labor productivity, setting market mechanisms in motion and consistent application of the rule of [enterprise] autonomy, self-management and self-financing.

The other aim of the questionnaire was to register the young intelligentsia's opinion on the likely evolution of the socio-economic situation in the country. Opinions differ, however, the overall picture indicates that the young intelligentsia and 51.6 percent of the other respondents make an optimistic prognosis of future developments /effective improvement of the reform process, increased production and marked improvement in market supplies./

Aspiration to democratic representation of all communities in representative bodies is the most popular of the strategies of social activities and of the young people's own participation in the socio-economic life of the country--being cherished by 49.8 percent of the intelligentsia youths and 41.8 percent of the others. Other options are as follows: union of various sectors of society in PRON, PRON-building of national reconciliation /8.4 percent of the young intelligentsia and 10.2 percent of the others/; solid work in every job /6.6 percent and 6.0 percent respectively,/ and involvement in opposition activities /3.9 percent and 3.4 percent./ Six-tenths of a percent of young intelligentsia and 1.3 percent of the remaining respondents opt out of any social activity, preferring to stand aside.

Despite the popular argument about the young people's and especially the young intelligentsia's, evasion of social activity, the questionnaire results show that according to the respondents such activity is important and reasonable; it is worth noting that the positive majority of them opt for such structures as representative bodies and PRON. At the same time, however, the results show the young people's great dissatisfaction with the present economic achievements. The majority of those polled believe that in the '80s young people vindicated their ideological commitment, nevertheless they think that their experience of the period has discouraged them from taking part in the country's political life /65 percent of the young intelligentsia and 50.4 percent of the others./

It is also worth mentioning here that 35.7 percent of the young intelligentsia and 38 percent of the remaining respondents think that young people were used at the time by the politicians of the opposition, ambitious to seize power. However, many respondents do not share this opinion.

To be sure, the results of Dr Czyzkowska's research will become a subject for scientific discussion. It is obvious, however, that the opinions of the young intelligentsia seldom differ from those represented by young people from other strata of society. The investigation denied the theories on the young intelligentsia's evasion of participation in social activities or on their strong support for the oppositionist activity. At the same time, they are more pessimistic [than other groups] as regards prospects of extricating Poland from the crisis and on the reforms introduced.

#### Informal Youth Movements

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 42, 14 Oct 84 p 5

[Elzbieta Samoraj Talks to Michal Szymanczak of The Research Institute on the Problems of the Youth: "Nothing New"]

[Text] Question: You've been praised for your paper entitled "Hippie, Punk, Popper and Others. A Draft Monograph on Young People's Forms of Protest in the '80s," however, you've confused people, describing all these young people's styles. Usually they are all put under the heading "youth subculture."

Answer: They are also put under the headings such as: subculture, counter-culture or informal movements of the youth. I know of no research that would specify how many young people identify themselves with the informal youth movements, however, it is a gross mistake to identify youth subculture just with hippies, punks and poppers. These phenomena are only a fragment of a greater whole and therefore the use of a term such as "informal youth movements" is most appropriate. I used the term of "forms of protest" in the sense nearest to its everyday meaning, where the style is expressed in ways of behavior and speech, while protest is a refusal to take part in the existing realities.

Question: That's just it: subculture, protest, informal groups. Doesn't the public have a completely negative response to such ideas?

Answer: I do not think so. Another thing is that the press seldom writes about manifestations of the life of youth in the "Our Life" columns. Usually

such accounts go under the headlines of "Fringes of Society" or "Pathology." The fact that articles on punks are printed, for the sake of simplification, in such columns, and that these youths are labeled as members of a subculture or youth subculture misleads the readers. Meanwhile the term "subculture" referring to informal groups of young people merely stresses a certain distinctness attached to a definite social category. Every social or professional group is characterized by specific features, for example, certain patterns of spending their leisure time. This allows us to speak of a given group's contribution to culture as such. Informal youth movements have also contributed to the culture of Polish society in the '80s.

Question: Do they originate from it as well?

Answer: I am deeply convinced of this. This happens even through their reference to main-stream culture. For example, punk dress according to the obligatory norms and patterns of the official culture. Maybe I am wrong, but I think that punks are unconsciously becoming a generation of defenders of the social class they come from. Although their parents (this applies to the West, because in Poland it is not so clear), as unskilled workers, belong to the lower classes, the children are not calling for any change through escaping from their life. On the contrary, the young ones want to be failures, to be ugly and to shock in order to mess around in the way their parents once did. Of course, I cannot claim this for sure, because scientific evidence would be needed for this statement, but their behavior is absolutely consistent with the formal culture.

Question: In other words, we've got the kind of informal youth movement you would expect here.

Answer: They have certain original Polish traits, though they are secondary to the West.

Question: How do these Polish traits appear?

Answer: For example, Polish punks go to school. In England they did, because actually there are no more punks in England, nothing. Polish poppers are no richer than punks--money plays no part here. In the West, it did: poppers were children of the really rich. The elements of fashion are also genuinely Polish--Polish punks are fond of railwaymen uniforms.

Question: There's not much of this originality though, is there?

Answer: Recently I attended a meeting at the Polish Academy of Sciences, devoted to rock music. Zbigniew Holdys of the now defunct Perfect group was asked about the Polish derivativeness from the West. He answered more or less to the effect that, although perhaps it is difficult to put up with, it is a matter of fact that everything in Poland is a Western import: the bulb, the car, even communism is a Western import. Why? Because we simply live within the European culture and certain phenomena appear here almost at the same time as elsewhere. To be sure, fads are also important, but the sources are concurrent, no matter what socio-political system people are living in.



Question: What are the choices young people can make within their informal groups?

Answer: There are several main types of such groups: post-hippies, who are few, punks, poppers, skinheads, fascists and killers, whose ideology tells them to murder but they do not quite know whom.

There is also quite a large religious-mystical group believing in the ideals of Rastafarianism and a few Krishna worshippers. Of course, the "ideologies" and "philosophies" (in huge "quotation-marks") of each of these groups are different.

Question: Do they have any common root?

Answer: Their revolt, which can vent itself in naturalism, in being themselves, in aggression or irrationalism. I think that the informal groups of recent years developed from the hippy movement of the '60s, which was a non-aggressive, soft and escapist subculture, and from the tough and strong "git" movement, which in a general sense was the precursor of the skinheads and fascists [the git movement: an informal youth movement characterized by dress and haircuts similar to those of skinheads, tatoos, use of prison slang and a marked tendency toward violence].

I think that subcultures are governed by the same laws as those applying to anthropology in general. There exist certain laws of social development and we will not invent anything new in this respect.

Question: What unites the members of informal youth movements?

Answer: Speaking in most general terms, there are generational bonds among them--they all feel connected by their age and their similar problems. However, their revolt and disapproval of the world around them are the most important thing.

Question: Nothing new then.

Answer: The extravagant form of their revolt is new. To be sure, throughout history certain extravagancies were apparent, but they were never as glaring as they are now. Moreover, as if despite the laws of psychology, the modern-day protesters, instead of forming an exclusive circle, try to articulate their revolt with their specific music and appearance.

Question: Statements made by punks or poppers are dreadfully pointless.

Answer: Maybe punks and poppers are shallow, however, whose fault is it that kids of fourteen are not sensible yet? It's quite another problem whether what they say is a mere declaration or a reflection of their actual beliefs. In the present time and age, statements made by people much wiser and moreover socially recognized show that opinions can change as rapidly as the external situation. There would be nothing strange if the young people's opinions changed with similar rapidness, especially since they are searching for their own identities and do not quite know what they actually want.

Question: But do they have to sing about all that?

Answer: Oh, I think that this is quite understandable--after all, music and dance have always been the easiest form of expression throughout the mankind's history. It does not have to be great music; it doesn't even have to be good music. It's enough if you exercise, and then you can shout about what's on your mind. What other chance is there to express all this? At school, no one will listen to them; and they're in conflict with their parents. They have simply nowhere to go to express what's on their minds, whether it is wise or stupid. Are they to write poems no one will read? [Singing] is their form of success, of winning recognition at long last.

Question: I think that many people won't believe this. Winning recognition as such cannot matter to these young people, because this goes beyond the current social stereotype, which...

Answer: ...is rather negative and ambivalent. A poor imitation of the West, aggressiveness, no respect for any authority, egocentrism, hedonism, dislike of school and lack of any greater life ambitions are the basic traits of this negative stereotype.

Question: That's it. People commonly believe that our youths are bad, do nothing but listen to rock music and it is not likely that they will even outgrow their present habits.

Answer: I would call this a mistaken view of the young. Young people differ. This is a truism, but still it is true. There are young people in youth organizations, although these organizations are not full of vitality, indeed, and hardly satisfy the young people's needs. There are young people who are just so-so, they live from hand to mouth, cherishing just one ambition: to grow rich. There are young people who want to change the world but outside the youth organization and without engaging themselves in any protest movements. There are very many young people of sterling worth, even in the common understanding of this term. To apply the terms "youths" or "youth subculture" only to the groups around rock bands shows that you underestimate the young, that, in point of fact, you do not have the faintest idea of the young and what they are like.

Question: Maybe these other, not so stereotyped representatives of the young generation are not so numerous?

Answer: No, they are merely less visible. Who writes about punks, poppers and Rastafarians? First of all journalists, because this is the topic that interests their readers. And what can you write, for example, about members of youth organizations? Nothing, because not only are they plain, but also they do nothing visible. What is more, they aren't even interested in what the others are doing.

Before the summer vacations, our institute organized a conference on "Young People's Protest; A Fad or a Search for an Alternative Style of Being." It was aimed as an information-giving conference for those who work with the

youth. And what happened? Although we sent invitations to all those concerned, none of the youth organizations were represented, neither was the Ministry of Education, and maybe 20 people represented 49 voivodship school superintendents' offices, whose knowledge and understanding of the problems of the young was non-existent. Maybe it is here that the reason for the appearance of informal youth movements can be found. It seems that schools and social organizations concern themselves only with more important problems.

Question: Consciously or not, people divide the young into good, organized ones, and all those punks, poppers and goodness knows what else. Why? From fear or for the sake of their consciences.

Answer: Because this is the easiest way, while the fear (felt, I daresay, not only by decisionmakers but parents as well) results from the fact that a certain group of young people have got completely out of control and are determined to preserve this situation. Besides, they are different from the others and therefore can be dangerous. There are many laws of social psychology that could be applied here. After all, this anxiety is connected with very noble motives as well--usually the various youth movements are associated with drug addiction and delinquency, which would probably appear even without any youth movements. Anyway, the policy do not mythicize this problem, recognizing young people's groups as, above all, the problem of educators.

Question: Does this problem fulfill any social function?

Answer: It is, for example, a guage of young people's moods. People associated with informal youth movements are, maybe, particularly prone to revolt, however their attitude merely represents what is inherent in the young generation, which is an immanent part of society; they just do what others lack the courage to do or are not determined enough to do. Besides, the existence of such groups gives a young man a chance to make a conscious and authentic choice when he resolves, for example, not to become a punk or a drug addict. Perhaps this will be his first, really mature choice, which will allow him better to fill the roles he will resume himself.

From the social point of view, the very membership of such a group can be positive. This allows the young man not to feel "alone in the crowd" any more, to find friends, a girlfriend and his own place in life. At least on Saturday and Sunday, he can be "very much the punk," whereas during the week he goes to school and is "only a bit of a punk." He won't remain a punk until the end of his life.

Meanwhile parents who see their children's inclination toward informal groups should wonder what their children are looking for there. You do not have to prove that young people need authority, and physical and emotional contact. If parents were willing to understand that they do not offer these to their children, maybe, some of them would stop overestimating the significance of informal groups. You should not overlook these groups either; they simply exist, but you should not fear them or be ashamed of talking about them.

Question: Thank you for the interview.

## PROBLEMS OF SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS, SCHOOL ELECTIONS NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by par: "Science and Higher Education Council Meets"]

[Text] The National Science and Higher Education Council ended its 2-day debate last Friday, 12 October. The council members discussed problems vital to science as a whole, such as scientific publications. Some speakers said the situation was dramatic or simply tragic. The fact is that since 1981 the number of scientific publications has been dropping, and the composition, printing and binding has taken increasingly long periods.

It takes 11 months for a monthly to be published; a book requires more careful setting, and the time varies from 4-5 years. This situation brings about extremely negative phenomena. As a result, most outstanding authors prefer to publish their works abroad, and foreigners do not cooperate with Polish magazines.

One participant noted that scientific output is evaluated according to the number of publications. In the meantime a scientist can publish a book every 15 years and an article every 4 years. The printing industry is to blame for this state of affairs. Little can be done without improvement in this field. Participants pointed to reserves for improving the situation. They said some scientific works are too long, written as if the author wanted to produce the largest number of pages, and many publications, especially local ones, which are published irrespective of their poor level.

Rotation of senior lecturers was another important point on the agenda. The problem has aroused much emotion in the academic community. It is generally known that the employment structure at universities leaves much to be desired, that there are too many senior lecturers and that many of them have no chance of becoming assistant professors. On the other hand, there are no policies that would make the normal circulation of cadres between the higher education sector and others (secondary schools or the economy) feasible. Despite a staffing shortage, neither the secondary schools nor the economy sector are eager to employ academic teachers with doctoral degrees, although many of them are experts in their fields.

The rotation of senior lecturers has nothing to do with getting rid of failures; senior lecturers are well prepared to work at many positions. However, the atmosphere that surrounds this problem, and judging those who leave the university as worse may lead to the destruction of the cadres.

The assessment of elections at higher schools was the most crucial point of the debate. The council concluded that the elections were carried out in a serious atmosphere and that the parties concerned appreciated the importance of the elections. The tensions that occurred should be considered a natural consequence of the involvement of the higher schools' employees. Elections can be held without conflicts only in an atmosphere of total indifference. The participants in the discussion stressed that the elections had not disturbed the normal functioning of the universities. Summing up the course and the results of the elections the National Council stated the following:

--elections at universities are an inalienable distinction of academic life and a crucial element of the proper functioning of universities,

--the election campaign took place in a serious atmosphere, and its importance was understood. The campaign was generally given a positive assessment, although the campaign conditions left much to be desired at times,

--holding the elections so shortly after the sanctioning of or during the negotiating of the school statutes caused various formal problems. These shortcomings must be analyzed at universities, and conclusions for better preparing the next elections should be drawn.

--evaluation of the results and consequences may be presented after the university authorities have functioned for an appropriate period.

CSO: 2600/149

## PAY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BLUE, WHITE COLLAR JOBS CRITICIZED

Warsaw VETO in Polish No 42, 14 Oct 84 p 13

[Article by Skorpion: "Computer Vs Shovel"]

[Text] It can be said that the role of the journalist changes. At the present time, the reader treats him as a confessor, a supplier of goods in short supply and, last but not least, as a prosecutor who should introduce order into various walks of our life, starting from Ms Smith we do not like because she's got more money than the authoress of the letter addressed to the journalist, and ending with clean rest rooms. As we know from history, in Poland it was always the wrong people who were interested in loos, for example the pre-war Premier Slawoj Skladkowski. Small wonder then that this subject stimulates many journalists into action and print.

Meanwhile, it is with great interest that I listen to the accounts by various friends of mine of the various debates, symposiums, conferences and meetings they have attended. Sometimes I attend such events myself and hear various interesting things there, however, what I have recently heard is, I believe, a fragment of a great whole; it prompts one to make certain generalizations, therefore, let us consider whether certain harmful processes are taking place.

For instance, during a certain very serious discussion on the functioning of the economic reform in 1983, not a word was said about such significant problems as a change of the investment structure, necessity to give greater autonomy to small enterprises and to strongly and consistently compel greater effectiveness of the others, even if they were to declare bankruptcy; instead the debaters concentrated almost exclusively on the defense of their own branch interests. Thus representatives of industrial trade unions recognized as their most important problem not even that they themselves were earning too little, but rather that others were earning more. It appears that various social circles have finally realized that the number of people working for Polonian companies is not large enough to blame them for too high earnings. Moreover, as usually happens to exaggerated rumors, it appears that although work for a Polonian company pays, it involves a real slavery, which can't be compared with loitering in the over-protective state-run enterprise, where every loafer is a sacred cow and where it isn't in the enterprise's interest to fire him.

For quite some time, an archaic concept has become popular in Poland. This concept values work according to the physical fatigue involved. Therefore, those people who use a shovel should earn most, while those who use computers should be paid least.

In the presently cherished ideal of the egalitarian society, where physical fatigue is still estimated more highly than intellectual effort, a hospital-ward orderly should earn more than the ward head and a van driver should earn more than a university professor.

In principle, the theory that we all have similar stomachs and needs is plausible, but unfortunately, one only needs to look around, to see this theory reduced to dust. There are people who wouldn't be satisfied with Wilanow or Versailles as their home, and others that would make do with a bachelor's apartment, but would instead like to possess all the harems of the world. The reporter O[lbromski] of the RZ[ECZYWISTOSC] weekly is the classic example of the latter. His attacks against the private sector and Polanian companies are clearly not aimed at their money, villas or cars, which these businessmen allegedly have in abundance. The main reason for Mr O[lbromski]'s envy is the extravagant sexual life of these perverts, fond of girls who are under age and candidates for Beauty Queen competitions.

Returning, however, to the problem of equality, it's worth noting that, unfortunately, the argument about the superiority of hard work over downright mental work is an example of cheap demogogy. Even an ignoramus can see the differentiation between plain labor and complex work and that its value is not dependent on muscular effort alone, but on the work of the brain and nerves as well. Any engineer or professor could do the job of the charwoman or van driver, however, this doesn't go the other way. It is absolute nonsense to charge engineers or other university graduates with working for [private] boutiques or workshops if, at the same time, you demand the highest salaries for those who work the hardest physically. Every, even moderately ambitious university graduate would like to make discoveries worthy of Marie Curie or to create things assuring him fame and social standing. If, however, it appears that his formal education does not guarantee him an income higher than that of a women sweeping railway carriages, he must abandon his profession, because he is simply unable to keep himself and his family. Unable to satisfy their needs while working at a [scientific] institute or university, talented and ambitious designers and engineers not only quit their parent institutions, but their respective profession as well. Can they be blamed for that?

The slogan of equality did not appear at the time of the French Revolution, although, no doubt, it was then that it became most popular. The slogan of equality is very old and noble, however, its practical implementation must heed the rule of rewarding everyone according to his work.

That is why to pay the same for the work in an enterprise running at a loss and facing bankruptcy, and in the prospering firm is not only immoral, but just detrimental to the entire economy. It leads directly to neglecting those fields of activity which push the country forward, and artificially lifting those who are sinking the country and its economy. We must make up our minds whether, in the name of equality, we are going to overpay people for the sole reason that they work with a shovel in the enterprise that is running at a loss or whether we are going to stake more on those people whose work brings us much greater profit, but who we do not give their due as we do not have enough money, because everyone should be paid more or less the same.

After all, the last wave of egalitarian demands in Poland, in the later '70s, as we all remember, did not concern pay, but rather the system of privileges prevailing: all those commodity coupons, allocations, home deliveries that skipped the queue etc. The depreciating Polish zloty stopped being an instrument of distribution, therefore, it was aided by a system of privileges. As a result the value of the same money depended on its owner [and his official status]. The "money equality" has not been restored, i.e. our earnings are not covered by supplies of goods, instead we've been flooded with pay and price increases, resulting in market disequilibrium, a rationing system and, finally, in the situation where the wide-spread slogan put out by both employees and activists demands that they catch up with the salaries of another professional group, of those in a neighboring factory or just in other countries.

However, the main argument for these claims is a mere penetrating force, not any economic reasoning--and this is what upsets me most. From the point of view of Poland's future, the pay preferences for the production sector, including premiums for, above all, arduous work, has a powerful anti-motivation effect on technological and organizational progress, improved productivity, new technologies, inventions etc. The belief that our extraction from the present crisis depends on the pace with which a large number of people dig with their shovels is extremely dangerous to our future. The disregard for the fact that at present, our only chance is to stake more on computers and microprocessors and on the mobilization of the brightest heads in order to arrive at new technical and economic conceptions, can push Poland down to the bottom of the European and world socio-economic list.

Because no country where creative and thinking people are not given any financial boost above the charwoman's pay scale, has a chance to maintain its position or to advance in the international race to a higher standard of living. To be sure, you can always find people in Poland who do not care for such things, who cherish immediate popularity more than long-term aims and whose voices can be quite loud. But I hope that there are in Poland other people as well, who can also take into account the lessons of the past and future prospects.

CSO: 2600/148



## WALESA'S COMMENTS ON BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE ATTACKED

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 16 Oct 84 p 2

[Article by U.M.: "Love Endures"]

[Text] Careful readers of the British press, if they actually took the trouble to read various papers, would find an interesting collection of reports proving that true love can transcendent borders and oceans, to say nothing of linguistic barriers. We have already informed EXPRESS WIECZORNY readers about a significant interview which appeared in the 29 July issue of the SUNDAY MIRROR. Robert Eringer interviewed Lech Walesa and the main subject of the interview was the British miners' strike to preserve their jobs. Walesa expressed his great respect and sympathy for the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and said that "With such a clever and courageous woman, Britain will surely find a solution to the strike." [Retranslated] We now know that the strike continues and the authorities have decided to punish the miners with heavy fines.

In the interview, Lech Walesa criticized the miners' leader, advising him to moderate his demands. "I cannot consent to any violence. The workers should demand the maximum, but not so much as to make the employer go broke." This concern over the affairs of the owners of the mines and order in Britain is quite telling.

Over a month later, the TRIBUNE weekly published a letter from one John Spencer, headlined "Walesa and the miners." We have written about it already so we shall only quote a brief passage from it: "I failed to find in the interview a single passage concerning police brutality and the issue of pit closures. Yet Walesa advised Arthur Scargill that union leaders should bury their ambitions. Did Walesa discover that after September 1981, when he announced that Solidarity was more than a trade union...?"

Another month passed. In the 9 October issue, the DAILY TELEGRAPH ran a dispatch from its own correspondent. Excerpts follow: "Three members of the National Committee of Working Miners came to Poland last night to meet Lech Walesa. Their leader, Anthony Ellis, who is the deputy chairman of the committee, said that Walesa had a 'very bad case of tonsillitis'." The paper went on to explain that the meeting was arranged by emigre Solidarity circles "in order to encourage the working British miners." Let us put it bluntly: The aim of the meeting was to give moral support to strike breakers. Presumably, the purpose was to help the "clever, courageous woman" to find a solution to the strike. This shows that old love does not rust away. It endures.

LENIN SHIPYARD TRADE UNIONIST DISCUSSES PAST, FUTURE

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Oct 84 p 4

[Roman Przeciszewski talks to Krzysztof Skibicki, leader of the Gdansk Shipyard Trade Union: "Improving Reality"]

[Text] Question: According to the rumors, there would be no trade union in the yard if Skibicki had not been officially appointed.

Answer: Are these the only rumors you have heard? The leaflets said more. That I was a quisling, a traitor, a loiterer, etc. I have kept all this stuff as a keepsake. The new unions are a thorn in somebody's side, and hence the dozens of absurd fabrications and charges. Their only purpose is to reject and ridicule. After all, many people realize that all this does not hold any water and that someone is eager to discredit the union and its members at any price. For example, who can say I have been appointed and brought here from above? I've been working at the shipyard for 23 years. I worked as a shipfitter until last year when I moved to this room, the seat of the new trade union.

Question: You treat all this lightly. A fitter suddenly turned into a trade union leader? And where? In the famous shipyard, which is a symbol! What about your own doubts and indecision, because, obviously, everything cannot really have taken place with such ease?

Answer: There's no use talking about the nights I could not sleep, about my frayed nerves, about the hours spent reasoning with my family and friends. Here one word would suffice to place me at risk, let alone creating a structure that has obvious political significance.

I read the law on trade unions and found myself in the trade-union organizing group. "You should try," I told myself. The day after the formation of the organizing group was announced on the shipyard's tannoy system was the worst. I was afraid; I have admitted this more than once. After work, I went to the railway station conscious that other people were staring hostilely at me. I lost many of my old friends at that time. I have often wondered whether it was worth paying such a price, whether it wouldn't have been better to be indifferent to everything, but no. I wasn't the only one who had to bear the pressure.

Question: Does this mean that the price was worth it?

Answer: We had to pay it. How otherwise could we reason with people? As I said, I lost many of my friends. But some of them have already rung me up here in this room. They've been looking for help from the union and Skibicki. By doing so they indicate their trust in the sense of this union.

Question: A skeptic would say that not many people have done so. The trade union includes 2,723 shipyard workers. The greater part of the workers stand apart and are passive.

Answer: Many people continue to believe that membership numbers are the most important thing. But, do the numbers betoken the new trade unions' strength? I cannot agree with such reasoning! This is not the way! There are also people who say that the shipyard has treated itself to a party members' union. I don't know what makes them think so, because a mere 30 percent of the union members are also members of the party, while very many of them belonged to Solidarity. Yet, it is pointless to juxtapose the percentages and numbers of the present union members, party card-carriers and those who once belonged to Solidarity. Such comparisons serve no purpose. If the trade union is to be a trade union, if it is to be credible and be accepted by everyone, sooner or later, it must be in partnership with the works' management and the authorities, whose voice will always matter. It is not the management's or authorities' declarations but daily compliance with these declarations that counts.

Question: Is the trade union satisfied with this daily compliance?

Answer: It varies. It is true that many people need to learn the correct interpretation of the trade-union law. Old habits that should in any case have been abandoned have persisted. If the trade union is meant to be a partner, it cannot be a supplicant and, unfortunately, this is often the case. For example, someone issues an order concerning the workers, and only later asks us our opinion. Also, we often hear: "The matter's settled, you are right." Yet, as time passed, the effects were nowhere to be seen.

Therefore, we had to apply again, to admonish and to work for something that we had been promised earlier. Not long ago we took it upon ourselves to issue washing machine coupons to those shipyard workers who had suffered injuries at work and find difficulties in running the home. We were turned away from one door after another, told that it was impossible. The truth was different, however, and we succeeded. Or the housing problem....

Question: This has been widely discussed in Gdansk. Reportedly, several people from the hull assembly department resigned from the union when it turned out that the union couldn't help them get a housing allocation!

Answer: This isn't so! Neither the trade union nor Skibicki promised any housing. However, the TV said that the shipyard had counted on the construction of single-family dwellings and that, maybe, the housing problem would be solved relatively soon. However, we face problems in this regard. If we must obtain everything, beginning with the building sites, by persistent endeavors, it doesn't matter that the shipyard provides us with money. In the meantime everyone is watching the trade union and making comments.

Question: This means that you could do with a "carrot" of some sort?

Answer: But what "carrot"? We, trade union members, also think realistically and know that the housing problem cannot be solved in a day. It requires time and doggedness. We teach people the latter. There are problems with construction sites as well as materials, but does this mean that people should give up, blame the trade union for everything and feel aggrieved? That is one side of the coin. The other side is that we, as a union, should not be scolded for an outsider who broke his promise, making the excuse of well-known difficulties. We do not want "carrot," but we also don't want any airy promises. Partners tell each other the plain truth, without pulling the wool over each other's eyes.

Question: Do you believe that the two sides are capable of hearing the truth however bitter? That they are ready to meet each other halfway?

Answer: What is the purpose of the trade union in a given workplace? To improve the reality, that's obvious. This cannot be done without telling the truth, even if it is bitter or unpleasant. For example, in June the shipyard received 70 car coupons, obviously, there were many more candidates than coupons. A special commission was appointed to distribute the coupons among the workers.

Unfortunately, the commission's performance aroused many controversies. The list of the commission's favorites included people who already had cars as well as some who had sold theirs just a year earlier. Besides, what was just as galling, the greater part of the coupons were allocated to the white-collar workers and the management. We did not approve of this list and sent our comments to the director general. Here and there you could hear talk that the trade union had stood its ground, but to no avail. But we did succeed! The commission reallocated the coupons, heeding our reservations and demands. This might seem a trifling affair, but still it showed that it was possible to come to terms with the other party.

Question: A point to the trade union! How many times have you succeeded?

Answer: We do not count our successes. We do not attend to human problems for the sake of appearances. When a man comes [to us] asking for help, the union will not refuse it. If he is in the right, we plead for him until a conclusion is reached. Obviously, the trade union cannot behave in any other way. It is understandable that people keep an eye on us. And, as I said, much depends on the effects we achieve. Even the growing trade union membership depends on that. I wish to add that it is not only the unionists who approach us with their various problems. One man comes complaining that he has been suddenly dismissed, another that bonuses have been unjustly distributed. The trade union must get to the bottom of things and try to find solutions. We've got a lot of work to do.

Question: This means that the reality is pretty grim, isn't it?

Answer: It is far from ideal. This is due to both the economic situation and certain people's postures. We are helpless in the face of the former, while we pronounce ourselves against the latter. Every success gives us a new impulse to act.

Question: Aren't you disturbed by adverse rumors, which usually question the effectiveness of the trade union's work?

Answer: There is such a multitude of rumors that you can easily get lost among them. Quite often they contradict each other. For example, in May, a delegation from our trade union visited Copenhagen where it met representatives of the Danish Metal Trade Union. When it appeared that the Danes had recognized our union and stopped speaking of Solidarity and, moreover, signed a cooperation agreement with us, specially cooked up hints were made in the shipyard. What didn't they hint at? They hinted at absolutely everything that could provoke a scandal and relegate the real effect of our Copenhagen trip to oblivion.

How can we undo such harm? I think that time will do it best. In the inter-union agreement we anticipated, for example, exchanges of holiday makers and youth campers, and also meetings on health protection, work safety and welfare. This will not remain just a piece of paper--as some people suggest. We have made a major step forward in our performance as a trade union, and the future will judge it as such.

Question: Will the same assessment be made as regards the Federation of Trade Union of Shipbuilding Industry, which you head as the chairman of its Organizing Committee?

Answer: Yes. The federation was registered in the Warsaw Voivodships Court not long ago, on 5 September. Someone might say that it's late, because people are already speaking about the nationwide structures. However, we did not want to make hasty decisions. When the idea of establishing a union representation of over 20 shipbuilding enterprises was ripe, we applied for court registration. Our structure is a genuine product of the bottom ranks, free from any pressures or instructions. We are planning to call the federation's congress in October. It will be held in the historical work-safety hall of the Gdansk Shipyard. We have not chosen this venue by accident.

Question: Thank you for the conversation.

CSO: 2600/152

APPOINTMENT OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS OFFICIALS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 74, 29 Sep 84 p 2

[Presidential Decree on Some Appointments]

[Text] On the basis of Article 27 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils,

The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Comrade Gheorghe Stoica is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Dolj County People's Council.

Article 2--Comrade Marin Enache is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Galati County People's Council.

Article 3--Comrade Vasile Barbulet is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Maramures County People's Council.

Article 4--Comrade Elena Nae is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Sibiu County People's Council.

Article 5--Comrade Maria Bradea is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Satu Mare County People's Council.

Article 6--Comrade Ion Traian Stefanescu is appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Salaj County People's Council.

Nicolae Ceausescu

President of the Socialist Republic of  
Romania

Bucharest, 27 September 1984  
No 201

CSO: 2700/35

RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS GUARANTEED BY LAW

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 22 Sep 84 p 4

/Editorial: "Firmness and Combativeness in Asserting Our Party's Outlook on Life and the World"/

/Text/ Shaping and educating a socialist, revolutionary consciousness for the new generation, and promoting progressive moral-political traits, specific of the new man, in all its work and life constitute one of the most honorable and responsible tasks entrusted by the party to the Union of Communist Youth. Within the framework of the extensive political, organizational, and educational activities carried out by the revolutionary youth organization in our country, the materialist-scientific and humanistic-revolutionary education of the new generations occupies a distinctive and clearly established place. One of the defining features of the moral-political profile of our young people is the fact that a new mentality has been shaped and is being asserted at a mass level on the basis of the profound changes that have occurred in the youth's work and life in the years of socialist revolution and construction, years in which a new material and cultural civilization has been forged for all our people. This mentality is governed by a materialist-scientific interpretation of surrounding realities and of the forces and objective laws of nature and society, and by a genuinely humane and consistently revolutionary concept of the role and place of man in nature and in society.

Naturally, we can by no means view this process as completed. On the contrary, in the light of the invaluable theoretical and practical thesis of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the revolutionary process does not end once the workers class, together with its allies, come to power; new horizons are opened up to the revolutionary struggle, new ways and means of action are devised, and new and palpably different requirements predicate the education of the masses, and primarily of the new generation.

In this light, the question of educating and shaping all our young people in the spirit of our party's outlook of life and the world and, on this basis, in the spirit of resolute, uncompromising, and energetic opposition to any mystical, retrograde, and obscurantist concepts is, as the party secretary general repeatedly stressed, one of the essential and decisive aspects of the struggle between old and new; it is primarily the duty of the young generation to always support what is progressive and to have clear guidelines in life.

As is well known, in our country the problem of religious freedom has been solved in a profoundly humane spirit. Summarizing this idea, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "...we, the communists, are guided by the scientific concept of the material nature of the world; we energetically oppose superstition, mysticism, and idealistic trends of ideas. At the same time, our party-state policy and our entire social life are based on respect for people's beliefs, on freedom of conscience, and on religious freedom, within the framework of our laws, proceeding from the fact that, regardless of his religious beliefs, each citizen and each member of a religion must observe the law and must serve the cause of building the new, socialist system in Romania."

As is known, 14 religious denominations are active in our country; they recognize the law and are recognized by the law. The principle of religious freedom is clearly sanctioned in the supreme law of the country, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the following terms:

"Freedom of conscience is granted to all the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

"Any person is free to share or not to share a given religious faith."

This concept implies a complex and profoundly dialectical perception of the contents and meaning of freedom of conscience, in that it expresses both the right of each citizen to hold and practice a faith (naturally, in accordance with the law and with the general interests of the society) or not to have any faith, and particularly, to express and practice his conviction without any constraint.

In our country, members and personnel of religious denominations, regardless of nationality, actively participate in the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and, in the spirit and on the basis of the laws of our state, contribute to building the new system and struggle to promote the progress and prosperity of our homeland, and to safeguard and promote the cause of peace and cooperation among nations. At the same time, however, we steadfastly believe that religion, as a social phenomenon determined by historical conditions, will disappear at a certain stage of social development. To arrive at that point, we must continuously intensify our communist, patriotic, and revolutionary education of the masses and of the new generation; the exercise and guarantee of religious freedom are in no circumstance to be invoked as an "argument" to weaken the combativeness, firmness, and consistency of our propaganda or our general political-educational activities.

Along this line we want to emphasize a statement made by our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: "...I want to call your attention to the fact that the policy of our state to guarantee religious freedoms must not be mistaken in any way with the requirements that membership in the communist party imply for each person, especially for each activist, whose life and thinking must be based on the scientific, revolutionary concept of dialectical and historical materialism."



This requirement is currently rendered even more topical by the fact that, as we want to demonstrate here, certain reactionary circles and vipers' nests abroad are attempting to claim "religious freedoms" as an excuse to turn faith into a means of moral and intellectual pollution. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "In particular, we want to unmask the mystical activities of certain religious sects manipulated by certain reactionary and fascist circles and by swindlers who are trying to divert people's attention from the fundamental problems of the contemporary world, and who are using these sects for purposes of interstate dissension and espionage."

Unfortunately, some of our young people, insufficiently informed or lacking a clear direction in life, have been known to fall into the webs of such sects and in time to become mere tools at the service of foreign interests, if not even hostile to the interests of our state and society. We are primarily referring to members of sects banned by the law because of their inhumane, antipatriotic, and antiprogressive character, such as the "Children of God," "Jehova Witnesses," reform adventists, dissident pentecostals, and so forth, as well as anarchists and disruptive elements belonging to religious denominations permitted by law. It is to be noted along this line that foreign reactionary, irredentist, and hostile circles often use such elements as instruments of blackmail and interference in the domestic affairs of our state, under the pretext of so-called human "freedoms" and "rights." In reality, as our party secretary general frankly stated, these circles invoke this pretext against the socialist countries as a means of causing political tension and enmity, and as a means of instigation. The purpose of such base tricks is obvious; as our party secretary general stated, "It is true that some international factors currently emphasize certain insubstantial aspects of human rights (...) Such an approach is designed to divert the attention of the people in those countries from precisely a lack of basic human rights, from serious social abnormal situations such as the exploitation of the masses, from flagrant economic and social inequality between the majority of the society and an exploiting minority, from the unemployment that is hurting millions of people, from countless material, spiritual, and political privations affecting wide human categories."

At the same time, as has been repeatedly stressed in documents of our party and state, such manifestations are linked to attempts by certain foreign reactionary circles to revive under new forms old, elitist, racist, and obscurantist theories long since negated by history; such theories are circulated to lead astray primarily young people and to divert them from fulfilling their role in promoting the ideals of socialism, humanism, progress, and peace.

In view of that, the Union of Communist Youth, its bodies and organizations, must deal with new and more taxing demands in order to promote and assert our outlook of life and the world among the new generation--the future builders of the fatherland--and, at the same time, to unmask and uncompromisingly fight any mystical and retrograde manifestation. The following guidelines and directions issued by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu are of an exceptional theoretical and practical value and have an inexhaustible mobilizing force for our entire political-ideological and cultural-educational front, and particularly for those active among young people: "Let us more actively assert our philosophical,

revolutionary concepts about the world and society; let us be more combative; we must not close our eyes and allow free passage to retrograde and backward ideas. Our revolutionary concept and the duty of the communists and of party activists to struggle for this concept must not be mistaken for our state policy, which commands respect for each person's faith and beliefs. We must not give up efforts to assert and demonstrate in practice the correctness and superiority of our outlook on life and the world, of scientific socialism, and of dialectical and historical materialism."

These are ardent encouragements and appeals to all of us; they are bright and future-oriented guidelines that are proving, more forcefully than ever, their value and truth now, when the new generation, like all our people, is confidently looking upon its present and future--the future brilliantly forecast in the draft directives of the 13th party congress--with the determination to spare no effort in implementing the party's historic program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on Romania's advance toward communism.

12782

CSO: 2700/32

# SHORTCOMINGS OF SCIENTIFIC ATHEISTIC LITERATURE CITED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Sep 84 p 4

[Article by Paul Dobrescu: "Firmer Dedication of Scientific Atheistic Literature to Molding of the New Conscience"]

[Text] There is no very great need to demonstrate the role which scientific atheistic literature is called upon to play in forming the new, socialist, conscience. A good literary work can make an effective contribution to enrichment of the activity of shaping scientific materialist convictions. The book itself is a valuable instrument in educational work, since it can form the starting point for many educational activities. To be added to this is the influence which the appropriate literature can exert independently of the activities that may be carried out on the basis of a publication. It is the purpose of this article to discuss some of the problems currently encountered in creation of scientific atheistic literature, on the basis of the opinions of certain researchers and the needs of certain categories of readers.

## Opinions of Authors

The majority of the authors with whom we have discussed the question have pointed out the qualitative increase in the pertinent literature in recent years, a diversification of topics, and an increase in the accessibility with which the topics are treated. The most important works cited have been titles such as Tineretul si religia [Youth and Religion] (Petre Datculescu), Biserica in involutie [The Church in Involution] (Victor Kernbach), Societate si religie [Society and Religion] (Florin Georgescu), and Religia in lumea contemporana [Religion in the Contemporary World] (Petru Berar), published by the Editura politica, the Dictionar de mitologie [Dictionary of Mythology] (Victor Kernbach) and Povestirile biblice [Bible Tales] (Zennon Kosidowski (a translation) published by the Editura Albatros, etc.

The literature in this field nevertheless continues to be marked by certain deficiencies of a topical order and by deficiencies of treatment itself. Following are some of them, gleaned from discussions with writers of books.

Petre Datculescu, researcher at the Institute of Research on Problems of Youth: At least up to the present there has been a predominance of works

which deal with the inconsistency of obscurantist mystical beliefs from the philosophic and historical viewpoints. Social research shows that the vast majority of young people are convinced of the truth of the general theses and arguments which affirm the superiority of the scientific concept of the world and life. Despite this fact, there are cases in which some young people believe it not to be erroneous to believe in obscurantist mystical ideas or practices. The presence of these "parallel trends," as we may call them, calls for more pronounced orientation of atheistic education, including that administered in the form of published literature, toward the processes underlying formation of correct logical thinking and the origination of convictions. Practical educational work would have much to gain from works centered around the problems of the real life of young people and around the processes which contribute to formation of socialist awareness."

Octavian Chetan, editor-in-chief of the Revista de filozofie [Review of Philosophy]: "In my opinion, the problems associated with religious morality have been very little dealt with, or, when they are discussed, what we find are often shallow analyses which fail to stress the particular significance of this area under current conditions. Religion has abandoned its older ambition of controlling the results of science. On the contrary, it is evolving in the direction of permanent retraction and accommodation of its creationist concept to the current stage of scientific development. Under such conditions, the existential problems of the individual, and religious morality in particular, have been made into a veritable bastion within which religious ideology is today organizing its system of defense. If religion attempts to establish its role and position in a world invaded by science on the basis of problems of a moral and human nature, with the aim of making itself a moral guide for contemporary man, it is clear that these problems should be brought to the forefront of the dialogue and confrontation with mystical doctrines."

Aurelian Tache, university lecturer at the Faculty of History and Philosophy: "I would stress as subject matter the existing disproportions between works written for specialists and propagandists and those aimed at the public at large, in favor of the first category. The question 'for whom are we writing' is becoming more and more topical. Works of the first kind are unquestionably necessary, but the long-term success of educational activities depends on the impact of popular works on the public, the reader. It is precisely in this area that the greatest shortage exists."

The collection Stiinta pentru toti [Science for All] is noteworthy for its frequency of appearance and to some extent its variety. But the writing of many of the volumes in this collection has suffered from an 'erudition complex', in that the authors appear to try to cram in specialized data and information, and in doing so shatter the premises for a lively and stimulating dialogue with the reader. In addition, as I have heard from many responsible persons in the book marketing system, the presentation of these works is uninspiring, with their gray dust jackets tending to diminish receptivity by the public."

## Reader Needs

"Anyone who reads the literature of the field carefully," we are told by Comrade Ioan Maier, government activist for ideological and political education activities in the Capital, "will see that only in recent years have a few volumes with titles such as *Religia si societatea* [Religion and Society] or *Societatea si religia* [Society and Religion], collections of studies or books by a particular author, been published. But what can't be dealt with under this heading? I don't mean to criticize the works in question, since some of them are good. I cite them because they indicate the level of generality at which the literature of the field is still situated and the state of non-differentiation of concerns."

The "level of generality" is, as a matter of fact, one of the major deficiencies of scientific atheistic literature. It sometimes derives from tired repetition of truisms, and not infrequently from a lack of information on the new aspects that have arisen in the evolution of the religious phenomenon, from lack of knowledge of scientific discoveries that shed new light on phenomena and processes. But regardless of the particular causes, this generality is the chief factor sustaining the monotony of scientific atheistic literature.

"The question 'for whom do we publish the scientific atheistic book?' must be kept constantly in mind precisely in order to meet more precisely defined needs," we are told by Comrade Francisc Gruen, government director for ideological and political education activities in Mures.

"It seems to us that a book is not published to meet certain demands, but rather to demonstrate that a publishing house has published something in this field as well."

Graduates of the Faculty of History and Philosophy have chosen topics in this field for state-sponsored works. We solicited their opinion regarding scientific atheistic literature. The common denominator was the "tiresome generality of many of the publications. Corina Zaharia states that "We have clearcut directions and evaluations in this area, but concrete analyses are absent. Take books on methodology as an example. How are we investigating the phenomenon of religion? It is clear that educational activity can be made more and more efficient only by such research."

Ovidiu Berindei: "Scientific atheistic literature seems at first sight to cover a wide range of problems, but the manner of treatment is defective. Take the relationship of science to religion, for example. Either this problem is treated in an anachronistic manner, with the new accents illustrating the somewhat different attitude of the church toward science being avoided, or mention is made that this attitude has changed, but the nature of this change is not shown convincingly and in detail."

Ionel Buse: "Increase in the influence exerted by the literature in this field depends to a very great extent on connection with topical matters, with what we encounter today in evolution of the phenomenon of religion."

Luminita Draghici: "There are progressive authors who make a very penetrating analysis of the contemporary religious phenomenon. The translation of such works would facilitate this connection and would introduce fresh elements into the specialized literature."

In a great number of lyceums there are atheism clubs which periodically discuss various books and problems associated with formation of scientific materialistic convictions. I wanted to learn the opinion of an active participant in such discussions, Emilia Iordache, who graduated this year from the Slobozia Agroindustrial Lyceum: "Perhaps one of the most exciting subjects, and one that has hardly been dealt with at all in the past, would be dissection of the mechanisms whereby the sects keep the faithful in subjection. Concrete research investigating such mechanisms from the psychological and sociological viewpoints would be eye-opening, could be converted to just as many arguments against the sects in question, and would offer many findings for educational activities to prevent subscription to various mystic beliefs."

#### Final Comments

Perhaps the first requirement to be inferred from the foregoing is that of high professional standards that should govern the efforts to enrich the scientific atheistic literature. Regardless of whether the plan of discussion is the general philosophical or that of analyzing the various phenomena and the implications of advancement of knowledge, high professional standards in treating problems is a prime requirement for ensuring that works will evoke a response. More so than in other areas, the general approach, the cliché, will suspend real points of contact with the reader. Hence the great responsibility of the authors of scientific atheistic books, and also the responsibility for forming and widening the readership of such authors. In this area in particular, publications to evoke a response should have behind them years of research work and detailed analysis undertaken on the basis of impressive scientific and general philosophic culture.

It seems to be clear that a rich scientific atheistic literature should include works which seek both to broaden the reader's horizon of knowledge and to analyze the various processes and phenomena that accompany the evolution of religion, and that success in the act of education depends on the effort exerted in both directions. It should be kept in mind that works on the phenomenon of religion should always take into account the progress made in science and in investigation of social phenomena, this being their real source of freshness. Science is not situated on the same plane of generality as religion. Hence the need for theoretical works written from the perspective of historical materialism, ones which utilize the vast process of knowledge of our days from the atheistic perspective and which form the explicit foundation for formation of scientific materialist convictions.

It is clear that the monotony and lack of variety of the literature in this field are nourished by the very small number of the authors in this field. At the same time, I would suggest greater initiative on the part of those

involved in publishing in widening this circle in designing of works of the question and answer type comprehensively treating a wide variety of areas of social life and research. We cite 2 recent situations to buttress our opinion. The participants in an exchange of experience between districts on the problems of scientific materialist education organized in Bucharest some time ago had occasion to hear a lecture delivered by an instructor of the Central Institute of Physics on the problems of the philosophical implications of the recent advances of knowledge in physics. All those who heard the lecture rated it as superlative. If it had been written down, the lecture in question could have been made the starting point for a volume deserving of publication in the *Dezbateri ideologice* [Ideological Discussions] or *Stiinta pentru toti* collections. But no one from the publishing houses was present.

The dissertations on the problems of evolution of the religious phenomenon defended this year by graduates of the Faculty of History and Philosophy in Bucharest included at least 2 which in our opinion could have been taken into consideration for publication in the collections referred to. Of course, the dissertations in question require some improvements for the purpose of publication, and accordingly a certain amount of effort on the part of the publishers.

Molding the conception of the world is a broad process requiring coordinated action by all those responsible for carrying it out. For this reason, the publishing houses, and at the same time the research institutes and the social science departments of universities, have the obligation of participating more actively in the effort to improve and modernize scientific atheistic literature and to increase the contribution made by this literature to molding of the spiritual character of the citizens of our country.

6115

CSO: 2700/19

BRIEFS

NEW DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Marin Enache is relieved of his position as deputy prime minister of the government, receiving other tasks. Comrade Nicolae Constantin is appointed deputy prime minister of the government. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 74, 29 Sep 84 p 1]

REMOVAL OF OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Traian Stefanescu is relieved of his position as first deputy chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, receiving other tasks. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 74, 29 Sep 84 p 1]

CSO: 2700/35



DISCUSSIONS IN ARMED FORCES ON 13TH LCY CC SESSION DESCRIBED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 84 p 3

[Commentary: "The 13th Session and Combat Readiness"]

[Text] Meetings devoted to discussing the draft conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee are being held on a large scale in basic LCY organizations within the Yugoslav armed forces. Party activity is evolving according to the set program and, in content, represents a step forward in anticipation of better results and larger contributions by communists to this extremely vital and significant nationwide activity.

To judge by the attitudes of members at meetings, the sense of a new climate and new mood prompts very encouraging expectations and is a sign of full unity of thought and action. We take note of the motivation that has come to light, as well as initial indications that we are moving forward. What is particularly remarkable about these gatherings of party members is the existence of a free, democratic and principled approach to the resolution of vital issues in our own surroundings but also in the community at large. Discussions and conversation are focused primarily on the vital issues of combat training for units, collectives and institutions within the armed forces, but more and more communists are referring to matters of general social interest in our country. Certain successes are a cause for rejoicing among party members, but the latter pronounce severe criticism concerning failures.

Likewise, the meetings are characterized by a frank critical approach and by a democratic way of analyzing problems and seeking solutions for overcoming them. To be sure, individuals also make remarks involving petty criticism [kritizerske opaske], but this is more a matter of failure to understand general conditions than bad intentions.

This critical approach, evident in those surroundings in which this task has been taken very seriously and in a communist manner, reflects both maturity and a creative attitude toward specific issues (e.g., combat training, other training, more substantial work at the level of basic organizations, better party life, etc.).

In precisely these surroundings, insistence is being laid on criticism not only as the negative description of mistakes but also as a creative act that offers positive solutions and approaches as a means of irresistible movement forward.

Although the discussions in connection with the draft conclusions of the 13th session are having a galvanizing effect on all attendees, individuals are inclined to the simplified assumption that such an approach will enable everything to be resolved at once. We must realize that the 13th session represents an extremely significant turning point and that the LCY is taking upon itself a very specific role and readiness to overcome current problems through reorganization on the move [prestrojavanjem a hoduj]. This means that maximal responsibility is being demanded of every LCY member, as is already evident in practice.

It is a good thing that the basic organizations, in which the focus of activity lies, are increasingly turning inward on themselves and are discussing methods and the substance of party work during meetings. Those basic organizations that also invite to meetings young people, trade-union activists, and unaffiliated comrades that join military collectives in joint assignments are deserving of every praise.

Young people are being heard more and more at these meetings: conscripts who joined the armed forces 30 days or more earlier, junior officers who recently graduated from military schools and academies, and others. As Major General Simeon Buncic, conference committee presidium secretary of the LCY organization in the armed forces, put it picturesquely at one gathering, "This is a sign that young people are thinking just like their older colleagues and comrades and that an identical approach has been achieved at the very outset, unity of thought and action, which pleases us very much."

CSO: 2800/72

## SUKRIJA DEFENDS ECONOMIC STABILIZATION PROGRAM

LD091803 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian -136 GMT 6 Nov 84

[Text] Krsko, 9 Nov (TANJUG)--A resolute stand must be taken against the erroneous and tendentious idea that the long-term economic stabilization program supposedly leads to the restoration of capitalist social relations because it acknowledges the operation of the market laws. On the contrary, this program, with its stress on the position of the working class, leads to the strengthening of socialist self-management and the power of the working class and its dominant role in making decisions about social reproduction, Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said at today's celebration in Krsko.

Addressing the workers at the Djure Salaja works, who are today marking the 45th anniversary of the factory, Ali Sukrija stressed that Yugoslavia's working class had confirmed that it was strong, capable and decisive in surmounting the difficulties facing us today. It would, of course, achieve this all the more quickly and successfully if the LDY fought as a unified whole to create the right political climate and conditions for overcoming the causes of the current problems, and used the right means for resolving them. The LCY could only ensure this if it was ideologically and operationally unified, militant and consistent in the battle for the set goals.

In the past 2 years of work we have not achieved all the desired and necessary results. There were misunderstandings, vacillation and even resistance to the implementation of this program, and these are still with us today. This testifies to the fact that some people still did not understand that we were not talking about pragmatic, palliative measures but profound, essential reforms in the country's economic and social life. The debts left us by the extensive development of the economy were not small, and the habit of spending above one's capacity has still not been completely eliminated. Despite these conditions hampering economic operation, there are organizations of associated labor which are achieving very good production and export results. There are more and more of these with every day that passes, said Sukrija, and they must be given the full backing of society and the right stimulation from economic policy. Stabilization implies differentiation between the efficient and inefficient businessmen.

As for the implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program, there is no room for compromise and we can not reconcile ourselves to delays in its realization. In this sense, Sukrija recalled, we immediately set about the task of overcoming as quickly as possible certain ideological and political vacillation, conduct and ideas affecting the necessary changes in the economic system and economic and development policy which arose from the tasks in the first phase of the stabilization program's implementation. A significant contribution to this came from the 14th LCY Central Committee session with its unified adoption of standpoints on the tasks of the League of Communists in the consistent implementation of the development and economic policy in 1985. In this context, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said, great responsibility lies with the Central Committee and its Presidium; through their activity they must contribute to the ideological-political clarification of certain dilemmas and involve themselves directly to secure with maximum efficiency the adoption of measures and documents, which we are already doing. Great responsibility for surmounting the differences and harmonizing standpoints in a timely manner also lay with the LC leaderships in the republics and provinces. Any obstinate refusal to move from one's standpoints when they do not enjoy the support of others, i.e., the entire community, is harmful and intolerable.

One of the key questions we have to concern ourselves with in the coming period is social policy and the employment of young and expert cadres. Social policy has to be an integral part of economic stabilization policy. At the same time the struggle for revenue has to be a struggle for remuneration according to the results of work. There has to be resolute work aimed at halting the fall in living standards. The means have to be found, Sukrija said, to help people and their families when their existence is threatened by rapidly increasing prices and living costs.

Talking about the need to fight against violations of the law and against people becoming rich without working for it, Ali Sukrija noted that the adoption of an effective tax policy and system on unified bases is of great importance here. We must, he added, outline tax policy criteria which will prevent people from becoming rich without working for it and halt the further social division of society. We have to approach this question from the point of view of class. It is not merely a matter for the fiscal organs but also the most responsible self-management and delegate bodies in all the socio-political communities which are already in a position to undertake concrete measures in this direction without waiting for a final decision on a unified social agreement on tax policy and the tax system. The tax policy has to help ensure a more even distribution of the burden of stabilization.

Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke at length about the work on a critical analysis of the functioning of the political system. The aim of the critical analysis, he stressed, is not to alter the basic constitutional solutions but through an analysis of the basic relations in production to arrive at an awareness of how much individual institutions in the system contribute to the further development of socialist self-management production relations. We have to eliminate those weaknesses

in our social practice and system mechanisms which prevent the system from being more effective and contributing to the further consolidation and development of socialist self-management socio-economic relations, and from being the means of the further development of the federation as a socialist self-management democratic community of working people and citizens of nations and nationalities with equal rights. It is an incontrovertible fact, Sukrija noted, that the problems which are being manifested in the functioning of the political system inevitably affect the effective implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program, too.

Assessing the all-party discussion on the proposed conclusions for the 13th LCY Central Committee Plenum, Ali Sukrija noted that even though it was still going on it could be said that on the whole it has been well organized and that its concrete results are being felt in the direct practice of many organizations and organs of the League of Communists. It was a general demand that in the League of Communists, and in particular in all its leaderships, full ideo-political and action unity should be achieved and the principles of democratic centralism consistently put into practice.

The reality of differences existing in views and interests is accepted, but a resolute demand is being made for these differences to be harmonized and jointly resolved more quickly, with full collective and individual responsibility for this being carried out. We are duty-bound--as we are the ones with most responsibility for this--to respect these demands from the members and organizations of the League of Communists and implement them, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said. There is a lot of criticism concerning weaknesses in the operation of the League of Communists itself. Criticism is being leveled against the manifestations of disunity and the tendency towards federalization, or even centralism, opportunism and lack of militancy, passiveness among LC members and their inactivity in self-management organs, the Socialist Alliance and other socio-political organizations. In a word, the LCY is being called upon in this phase of the revolution to be up to its historic task as the leading ideo-political force in society.

The fate of the working people depends on the successful surmounting of the present difficulties and on our revolution achieving the results which it achieved for decades when led by Tito. Even now, in these discussions and actions, the workers confirmed their readiness to bear the burden of overcoming the difficulties, but they quite rightly demanded with complete resolve that their communist vanguard put their conclusions into practice effectively, resolutely, consistently and in a unified manner; that this vanguard should be better organized and more persistent and militant in action, Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said, among other things.

CSO: 2800/83

CROATIA CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER SOCIAL SELF-PROTECTION

LD071522 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 6 Nov 84

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Nov (TANJUG)--The results achieved in the "Nothing Must Surprise Us" initiative which continues for the entire year will be reviewed in Croatia on 10 November when local communities and associated labor organizations will analyze activities in the broad area of social self-protection.

The theme of this year's "Nothing Must Surprise Us" initiative is social self-protection in the local community. This was stated today in talks with journalists at the Croatian SAWP Republican Conference. Within the framework of this action it is necessary to reply to a number of topical questions in the area of social self-protection, for instance: How often is the state and its tasks in implementing social self-protection discussed; to what extent are working people and citizens informed of this at meetings and through other forms of communication; and how much is such information an encouragement to political mobilization and specific action?

It was stated that the question which should also be answered is whether the political security situation is also monitored and fully assessed, among other things, at meetings of working people and citizens.

In assessing the situation, answers should be provided on what the protection from natural disasters, especially fire protection, is like, and how the direct participation of the working people, citizens, and tenants' groups, as well as other forms of organized participation in implementing the measures of protecting and rescuing people and material goods is achieved.

CSO: 2800/85

MAMULA GREET'S ARTILLERY-MISSILE UNITS

LD092056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0750 GMT 9 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the formation of artillery-missile units of air defense, Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for National Defense, has sent to the men, cadets, officers and civilians serving in the air defense artillery-missile units the following greetings:

Over the past 4 decades the air defense artillery-missile units have evolved into an important factor on the security and independence of our country. Our community's considerable material investments for the development of the technical, cadre and scientific base of the air defense artillery-missile units have contributed to this, alongside the efforts exerted by a number of generations of men and officers in strengthening and improving combat readiness.

Today the air defense artillery-missile units are equipped with modern combat technology, starting with modern radar and computers, and automated centers for receiving, processing, displaying and transmitting data about the situation in air space, right up to the latest technological generation of air defense artillery weapons and missile systems.

The system of teaching officer cadres and the training and tuition of servicemen and units ensures that the air defense artillery-missile units are highly capable of carrying out their special tasks in air defense.

You are celebrating your jubilee holiday at a time when great efforts are being exerted by the League of Communists and all progressive forces of our society towards strengthening and further developing the achievements of the revolution and the economic stabilization of the country.

May the shining examples of the veterans of our national liberation war and the self-sacrifice of your predecessors in the post-war development of your branch of the services, as well as the successes achieved in training and tuition of men, officers and units, be a constant incentive for you to continue to attain top results in your work. In this way you will best contribute to strengthening the defense capacities of our socialist self-managing nonaligned community. In congratulating you on your holiday, I wish you much success in your work.

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## BRIEFS

MARKOVIC VISIT TO NIS--Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held talks in Nis today with representatives of the economic and political life of the commune and region on topical problems of implementing the conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee. Dragoslav Markovic showed particular interest in problems raised in the discussion in connection with the conclusions that are of a general importance. It was stressed that one of the basic demands is the implementation of LC unity at all levels, and a sharp condemnation of the phenomena that jeopardize this unity. This afternoon, Dragoslav Markovic will address members of the Nis University political aktiv. [Text] [Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 84 AU]

CSO: 2800/83

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